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The Amoctate of David (Ali) Sonboly

Criminological consideration of the act in Munich

on July 22, 2016

Assessment

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The Amoctate of David (Ali) Sonboly

Introductory remarks on the facts and the situation

David (Ali) Sonboly, b. on 20.4.1998, has a long planned on 22.7.2016

Multiple killing in Munich committed. He killed in a McDonald's restaurant in Munich's Olympia-Einkaufszentrum (OEZ) a total of nine people and injured five more people by shots hard. Numerous other people were by the Done traumatized and mentally impaired.

The act took place in a nervous climate at the beginning of unexplained situation. It was a first Terrorist attack according to the Paris pattern not exclude, according to which several places in Munich may have been attacked by several culprits. [1] In Munich it came shortly after the act to first breaking news and special programs on a possible terrorist situation with several crime scenes in Munich. There was talk of several perpetrators with long weapons at the various parts of the city had been seen. In a short time, a tremendous lock came Police around the Olympic center downtown. The subway traffic was hired, people hid in shops. The television showed pictures heavily armed police officers who took people to safety. In the social Networks rumbled over the rumors and supposed sightings of perpetrators and Explosions. With varying serious, but consistent reporting were the Events repeated without clarifying the exact circumstances. Doctors were to Emergency call to the clinics, people did not reach each other. First against Midnight was found to be the act by an 18-year-old, psychologically conspicuous offender was committed and it was not an Islamist motivated offender. The Police went from an amoktat, which proved to be true.

The unclear situation in the first few hours and the possibility of acts of terrorism such as in Paris November 2015, special reports and a tremendous uncertainty of the Population out. As a result, there were more terrors and a plethora of Threats and announcements. And there is a new phenomenon for Germany: Terrorists and Amoktäter learn from each other, as reflected in the analysis of the plot of the

1 The terrorist attack in Paris by Islamist terrorists took place on 13 November 2015.

David (Ali) Sonboly clearly showed.[2] Future deployment situations will be the same Dilemma faced as in Munich: In the first few hours can not at all To be judged, how many perpetrators with which motivation in which places attacks to persevere. Both an amok situation and a terrorist attack are the same Initial situation. A perpetrator tries out of generalized hate motivation so many people as possible kill (amoklage) or one or more offenders try out ideologically underlying hatred motivation to kill as many people as possible (terrorist situation). In both Cases arise a highly dangerous situation, because arbitrarily selected victims and the Rescue workers are exposed to deadly attacks. In terrorist situations, the situation is unlikely only more dangerous in the choice of several crime scenes in close temporal context but, prognostically, because of the choice of weapons. Terrorists with possible logistical support from a group of offenders will be easier to to have powerful weapons and explosives also are military Training and the handling of protective equipment conceivable. The Amoktätern is the Use of weapons of war in the future not excluded, but because of the more difficult Access less likely.

[2] Bannenberg, tv discourse 4/2016, pp. 40-43.

Summary

The offender is a typical young Amoktäter, who took other perpetrators as a role model and identified with these and with the idea of rampage. He was considerably in
Thinking, feeling, behavior and relationships with other people are psychopathological striking. The typical elements of this personality disorder are also found in others Amoktätern, especially with the other young Amoktätern: Emotionally cold, not empathetic, very sick and in feeling, constantly attacked and hurt by all others at the same time very narcissistic, so of its own greatness and
Superiority to others convinced. His hate, anger, killing and
Revenge fantasies were wide-ranging; He specifically rejected juvenile migrants, however with a specific ethnic direction. He expressed himself with particular hostility
Turkish, German-Turkish and Albanian youth, with massive devaluations became clear to both male and female young people. It both played
Sacrificial experiences at school in grades 5 to 7 as well as disappointments with regard to to the only girl (a German-Turkish) to whom he had feelings, a role.
His inability to cultivate social relationships was particularly evident in his behavior in the chat utterances to the 16-year-olds, which he wanted to please. Although she herself
Some time in the summer of 2014 with him on chat conversations, he himself destroyed the Beginning friendly (chat) relationship through strange behavior and mediates voiced massive insults to peers. When they contact in the
In September 2014, his decision to go to the next step was likely to come to an end and the concrete considerations for implementing an amoctatic began. Opposite her he said when asked what else he could conclude from his behavior: he had no plans for the future or just dreams and wishes. His scholastic efforts were not serious and his statement that he wanted to study remained empty and like himself

was aware, formulaic. Beyond the specifically xenophobic hatreds
However, his hate thoughts were widely against a number of other people and on
End to society in general. The culprit had consistently throughout his schooling
pronounced performance problems, but managed the exceptions except one year. at
he was overstrained for years with a rather below-average intelligence. He held himself
However, for superior and did not acknowledge his deficiencies, but made the respective

School and individual teachers are responsible for bad grades. One
Negative circumstance in its development was incredibly time consuming and very
directed hours of playing first-person shooters and PC games, which not only too
Time wasted on other skills, such as school efforts,
Leisure activities and social contacts led, but almost an exercise in the later
Actual situation represented. He especially liked to play specific first-person shooters with gunman
Shares and, interestingly enough, has been popularized by peers online players more often
his hateful killing fantasies locked. His deed announcements were numerous
and have been troubling by peers for a significant period of time as well
perceived. The police were turned on at no point. informed
Adults, for example, in child and adolescent psychiatry played the violent fantasies as
irrelevant down and did not conduct a review of possible pre-trial preparations
One more, they specifically targeted the killing fantasies. The parents were the
Personality development of her son - as in the cases of other young gunman
also - helpless. They accepted his pronounced social isolation, his
time-consuming referral to ego-shooters and lived next to her son, but without any closer
Binding.

David (Ali) Sonboly to a right-wing extremist individual offender, so one (only) ideologically motivated perpetrator (right-wing terrorist, right-wing extremist "lone wolf"),

does not do justice to the case and personality of the offender. Although there is a demarcation of

Amoktätern and ideologically shaped individual offenders (terrorists) is not always easy (see A. Breivik). Here, however, are the typical wide hate and violent fantasies of a Amoktäters who, in addition to swastikas and Hitler fascination also hated other people and identified with Amoktätern. The referral to swastikas and Hitler was also not foreign to other Amoktätern. They admired the greatest murderer of all time and could relate to the hate-tirades that affect much of humanity find. In addition, the written on the Internet find written legacies Eric Harris, one of the perpetrators at Columbine High School on April 20, 1999, activists to date possibilities of identification. It's also about the inhumane social Darwinist elements and their own supposed grandiosity, with such Views are shared (humanity is overrated; natural selection; Imaginations). Psychopathology in the form of (narcissistic) personality disorder with paranoid shares in Sonboly laid the ground for his utterly exaggerated ambition,

to be included in the ranking list of Amoktäter. He did not just hate specific ones Migrants, but in the end all. Without the mentally disturbed personality development are not understandable Amoktaten. The motives are not rationally comprehensible, but arise from the psychopathological point of view of the perpetrator, allegedly rejected by all and want to "revenge" for it. This generalized hatred of a perpetrator arises through years of intense engagement with relevant perpetrators and deeds and the desire to to gain lasting attention in the media and on the Internet. If nothing succeed in life, at least the act should never be forgotten. Like himself in one Chat performed seven months before the act (talking about terrorists and Breivik):

"If you look closely, you can see that these people were just more amok runners Not. They do not do it because of the IS. They just want attention. ... It's the same, too Fear of the terrorists. Everything has its reason for the respective persons. The most what they have is attention. "[3]

3 errors in the original text.

8th

I. The act on July 22, 2016 in Munich

On 22 July 2016 at 17.51 clock started the 18-year-old David (Ali) Sonboly in Hanauer Street in Munich in fast-food restaurant McDonald's in deadly intent on adolescents too shoot. He killed in the McDonald's and on the Hanauer street in the area of the OEZ a total of nine people and injured five others, some seriously. Around 20:26

He shot himself when he was asked by police officers.

At the beginning of the act he aimed at a group of male and female unknown to him
Teenager with migration background. He had six teenagers sitting at a table
in the McDonald's had already observed. In the closer preliminary phase to the act sought
Sonboly three times between 17:08 clock and 17:50 clock the toilet McDonald's on the 1st floor
and went back and forth on this floor. At a near the toilet
The table was gradually occupied by six young people who did not know the culprit. Against 17:23
Clock arrived (victim 1) and (victim 2) at around 17:28 (victim 3) and (victim 4) and against
5:42 pm (Victim 5) and (Victim 6). The six had an appointment and talked, one
Order was not yet placed. Suddenly the offender stepped out of the toilet and shot open
the teenagers of this group. Within 18 seconds, all six of several
Shots hit. The 15-year-old Hungarian citizen born in Budapest (victim
1) died instantly by two headshots. The 14-year-old German-born in Munich
Turkish nationals (victim 3) died instantly from a head and a hull.
On the 15-year-old German-Turkish nationals born in Munich (victim 4)
the perpetrator shot six shots. The victim died at the two head and four round shots.
The 14-year-old German citizen (victim 5) born in Munich died at three
Hull shots. The offender aimed and shot at the two girls, swung to the left
and shot at the two boys (victim 1) and (victim 4) to turn right again in the direction
to swing the girls. Also the 14-year-old stateless person born in Munich (victim 6)
was hit. She suffered four gunshot wounds in the head, neck, trunk and hand and
died after emergency medical care at the skull in hospital
19:13 clock. The 13-year-old (victim 2), born in Munich, nationality unknown,
was seriously injured by two shots. A shot hit the jaw as a shot. Of the
second shot broke through his ribcage. The boy survived with lethal ones
Injuries after getting out of the outer stairs to safety.

After this act with five dead and one seriously injured, the culprit went into the

Ground floor and left the McDonald's to target him on Hanauer Strasse
shoot unknown people. In the direction of the electronics market Saturn and the
Entry and exit of the underground car park, he aimed at a car with Polish license plate and
damaged the vehicle. The Polish driver was unhurt. Next he shot at one
Passenger car just stopped at the exit gate of the parking garage. The 47-year-old German
Driver was unhurt. On the sidewalk at the entrance to the underground garage, the 17-
born in Munich Greek nationals (victim 7) of four shots
met. (Victim 7) had been on the terrace of the McDonald's, as the first
Shots were fired. Together with his sister, he fled over a fence in the direction
Saturn, where he met the culprit. Sonboly met him with three shots in hand, in the
Abdomen and thigh so that he fell to the ground. The culprit gave another
Headshot on the adolescent lying down, which is observed by the sister
has been. This then ran in panic and bumped his shoulder in the escape
and kinked with his foot. Her brother died at 19:58 in the hospital. On the
Walkway shot the culprit on the 27-year-old German (victim 8) and met this in the back
near the spine. The shot came out of the stomach and it came to life-threatening
internal injuries. The victim remained motionless and the perpetrator went on. (Victim 8)
was found lying on the street by rescue workers and taken to a clinic.
Immediately thereafter Sonboly shot a Turkish wife and mother of two children in the
Chest. The bullet was deadly. Located on the sidewalk near the underground car park
60-year-old German married nationals (victim 9) suffered one
Thigh penetration and was initially treated for eight days in the clinic. Because of
In September 2016, he was again in a clinic for two weeks following a sepsis. At the
Subway exit at the height of the Saturn market, the culprit fired from behind at the 44-year-old
married (victim 10) (born in Kosovo, unknown nationality), whose
Lower legs were shot through both. Together with her husband and the three
She was able to flee to Saturn's market and survive. The culprit shot on the
Walk on the 19-year-old German (victim 11) and hit him from behind with five
Shots in the trunk and thighs. The victim collapsed and died.

The perpetrator now slowly crossed the Hanauer road and went to the main entrance of the OEZ.
He was observed while changing the magazine. On the ground floor of the OEZ he met
the 20-year-old Kosovo-born Kosovar national (victim 12), who was born in Munich

the culprit had passed. Sonboly shot from close up from the side behind on the
Head, torso and a witness watched as Sonboly another head shot
the victim lying on the ground gave. The severely injured young man was still in
dragging a business where they tried to give him first aid. He died in the
Poor of a woman.

It was 5:55 pm. Sonboly went along several shops of the OEZ and shot at the
Windows. On a covered bridge in the direction of the parking garage he fired shots at one
68-year-old German from. The shots missed her and she was uninjured. immediate
then Sonboly fired indiscriminately at people, shot the magazine empty and reloaded it.
Nobody was hurt here. In the parking garage he damaged two cars with gunfire. He was
now from a market leader working in the OEZ, who tried to protect drivers from the shooter
to warn, seen. The witness saw Sonboly fire several shots backwards
and screamed. He was able to inform police officers in a timely manner about the walking direction of the police
Give the offender because he had seen that this went down to the second parking deck.

On the parking deck there was now a dispute between Sonboly and a resident, in
the consequence of the offender on the 56-year-old Germans fired a few shots and thereby the
Neighbors, a 46-year-old Bosnian, a splinter injury from a rebound
taught. The culprit shot on office windows, behind which he has a 56-year-old
German office workers. He missed the man. In the middle of the parking deck
Now it came to a clash with the police, who took a shot from the
Submachine gun on Sonboly surrendered, but missed him. The culprit ducked, lost two
Cell phones and disappeared. It was 18:03.

In those few minutes - from 5:51 pm to 6:03 pm - Sonboly had nine people
fatally injured, five people injured and many others injured in other ways.
Many people were shocked and traumatized because they shot the deadly
Experienced closeness, even fear of death, panicked and fleeing
Suffered injuries.

Until 8:26 pm, the perpetrator was largely submerged. On several occasions he was in the Sighted nearby. In the meantime, he changed his black T-shirt into a blue one. Both T Shirts carried irrelevant inscriptions (Uncle Sam and Chill). He probably had it located in lower floors of buildings close to each other. He was against

20:26 clock from several police officers coming from a building on the street discovered. He threw his backpack towards the police officers and was fired multiple times asked to remove the weapon. Sonboly repeatedly called the police officers to shoot him, what they did not do. He then shot himself with a shot in the left temple. The place of suicide was near the former secondary school (Toni Pfülf), which had visited the offender.

At the time of the crime, the perpetrator was not under the influence of alcohol or psychotropic drugs.

During the killing phase of the action between 17:51 clock and 18:03 clock took Numerous witnesses true that the culprit during or between the firing Made comments. He said:

"Because of you I had to suffer for seven years in Germany."

"Because of you I suffered for seven years in Germany."

"Blame yourself, they bullied me."

"I've been through this for seven years."

"I did what I wanted for eight years."

"It's your own fault, you bullied me!"

"I've been waiting for seven years!"

"Now I fuck you all, I fuck you all!"

"Turks in Germany! I'm not Kanake, I'm German! "

"I hate you Muslims!"

"You brought death into the land!"

"Fuck Turks! I'm German!"

"I'm German - I was born here, because of the fucking Kanaken I do that!"

"I was in psychiatry."

Some have heard in the firing on the girls that he said *"Allahu Akbar"*
Has.

As a witness stated later, who had noticed the end, Sonboly should also in the
Just before his suicide to the police officers said something: *"shoot!*
But before I leave, I have to get rid of something! I am not an Islamist, not a Salafist. I
was under treatment for mental health problems. It had to happen! "

As for the statements during the firing, these are for Amoktäter
atypical. Basically, the perpetrators were described in other cases as rigid, without
Facial expressions, without utterances, calm in the movements, but emotionally unmoved. Nobody has something said. Small deviations were found for example in Robert Steinhäuser, who in the end too to have told a teacher: "For today is over." During the act he said nothing.
Some asked for certain people, but in a quiet tone, without suspicion
excite. For the perpetrators was thus determined the fact, they had a long emotional

prepared and executed the act mute. It was different with Sonboly. These hate filled
Cries during the crime scene can be interpreted to mean that
had a great need for subjective justification during the act. Although he also years
previously had hate thoughts and hinted at the deed, it seemed to be a problem for him
to actually carry out the act. He basically felt the need at every stage of killing
to make sure. Should he actually be at the time of killing the girls "Allahu
Akbar ", this shows even greater cynicism. He was not an Islamist and
also did not want to be so understood. So the statements can only be considered evil
Understanding cynical sacrificial devaluations (in the sense of: "There you have Muslim women, what you have want."). The other statements are content to be understood as violent production. He
He had an extreme view of the world and especially Turks and German Turks were his
hated. Here, too, irrational elements of generalization are revealed, because he
did not even know his concrete victims by sight. This applies further to the statements that he is
been bullied and waited years for revenge. Since he neither his bully from the
Classes 5 to 7 found the victims doing anything with possible bullying
had an irrational worldview with generalized hatred. The reference to the
Psychiatry points to what it is on in another point far from the victims
Sonboly actually arrived: Only to himself and the needs of his disturbed

Personality. No victim ever had anything to do with him. The few that he invited to the crime scene (um
to kill them or to witness to his cruel actions) had not come
which did not stop him from killing. That was not the point. He was obsessed with
the idea of becoming famous with an Amoktat and not with any, but with DER
German Amoktat, which should cost at least 17 victims (puns in
Nicknames with the number 17 (17hunter and others - Robert Steinhäuser had on 26.4.2002 in Erfurt
16 people murdered, Tim Kretschmer in Winnenden and Wendlingen 15 people).

One also sees that there is no clear message of this act. While the ideological
motivated perpetrators are calling "Allahu Akbar" and repeatedly and clearly recognized as Islamist,

He also sends a clear Islamist message to all potential victims and the
Society. The right-wing extremist, who leaves a swastika in the act and
xenophobic slogans roars, is clearly ideologically recognizable and sends one
right-wing extremist message. [4] Sonboly could not do so by the numerous witnesses
be clearly arranged, because his utterances did not fit together and he beside
Migrants also German and in addition to young people and older in deadly intent
attack. First of all, the reference to his German nationality, his origin from the
Quarters and stay in psychiatry confusion. That's what happened
Amoktätern is typical: The environment does not understand in the beginning, why this person other
shoots. Because there is no clear message. [5]

Next fall in the crime scene, the change of crime scenes, indicating several aspects
(Inspired by special first-person shooters, terrorist acts of recent times and significant
Matches in particular with the act in Winnenden and Wendlingen that him
had been particularly interested).

The choice of weapon and the enormous amount of ammunition are very typical. The high number of
Victim is a consequence of using a firearm. Also the demolition of killing after one
certain time is not unusual. When choosing the date of the crime, the anniversary of the act
in Norway can not be denied (22.7.2011).

[4] Other phenomena should not be included here as they differ in phenomenology and perpetrator profile:
Serial offenders who want to remain unrecognized (at least when committing the offense) (NSU trio) or even individual perpetrators, who commit a series of murders (such as the "laser man" John Ausonius, to Gellert, Tamas: The
Laser man. From elite student to serial offender. Leipzig 2007 (Original Stockholm 2002). This is what this is about
Model of the Turner Diaries a role ("Andrew McDonald": The Turner Diaries, since 1978).
[5] See Hate Crimes (VII.) Below.

The young Amoktäter were at the time of the offense in their responsibility neither by alcohol,
Drugs or medications are affected. Again, this is a typical
Observation. These perpetrators prepare themselves psychologically for many months for their deed and want

To experience the act especially why they do not consume any anti-inflammatory substances.

The conclusion is also typical. The fact that he asked the police to shoot him, has with
to fear being hurt, suffering and possibly surviving. What about
Lacking empathy for victims is all the more powerful in self-pity among cowardly perpetrators
pronounced.

II. What are Amoctates?

Young Amoktäter up to 23 years form a specific group of phenomena and differentiate in the personality and execution of other perpetrators who commit homicides. The deeds are very rare. The specific risk factors allow in most cases an early detection and intervention because the perpetrators before the fact allusions about their plans do.

Amoctates are " *intentional attempted or completed multiple killings of the type of mass murder, which is usually a single offender out of anger, hatred and revenge attacked certain or even arbitrarily selected victims. The culprit aims at fame or attention and often commits suicide following the act. Young offenders until the Age of 23 years are different from the more heterogeneous group of adults. at A core group of young perpetrators find personality problems that determine their actions are. The quiet, withdrawn, but always a bit strange loner has one profound sense of alienation, feels hurt and ignored, identifies with The perpetrators finally stage their act as revenge for subjectively experienced offenses. Schizotypic, paranoid and narcissistic aspects dominate. The culprits are not impulsive, aggressive or dissocial. "* [6]

The case shows very typical elements of the core area of young Amoktäter. In a more as a three-year empirical research project funded by the BMBF, was a total survey of young Amoktäter to 23 years, a comparison group of young Perpetrators with multiple killings and a partial survey of 40 cases of adult Amoktäter performed. [7]

The Munich case was after a long period again a case of a young Amoktäters (see the overview in Table 1). The young offenders were up to an age of

23 years as young adults, because they were typically very immature and different from

[6] Bannenberg / Bauer / Kirste, Forensic Psychiatry, Psychology, Criminology 4/2014, p. 229, here light modified; Bannenberg Final Report 2017.
[7] For amoktats in general and with case studies, see the relevant publications in the bibliography.

clearly distinguished from adult offenders. Not all perpetrators did the act on one School, however, was interesting for the Munich case, that the perpetrator after thought Referred to Winnenden and thus the crime scene school a public place in the Downtown chose for his act. Several aspects may play a role here. Not only that he expected here with greater attention, but also with it, his specific Target group (young migrants) in any case. He dealt with terrorist acts and thus inspiration can be assumed by images of acts in public space become. He was also so specific about his favorite computer games and the movie and game matrix shaped that individual elements in the real plot with virtual Elements coincide (literally a *run* amok over a certain distance in the public space, through buildings, over a parking deck - Matrix! - by underground garages, the not rational change of clothes). It probably also played a role, that he hoped less likely to be overwhelmed by the police. Ultimately, there is the place of the chosen suicide a closeness to the school.

III. Results of an empirical research project: Young Amoktäter

In June 2016, the BMBF-funded interdisciplinary research project TARGET (Tat and case analyzes of highly expressive targeted violence) and here the subproject Casting: Criminological analysis of amoctates (adolescent and adult offenders of Multiple killings, amok threats) completed. The final report and several detailed publications on the project were published in 2017. [8th]

Amoktäter are usually single perpetrators who are high by a spectacular multiple killing Want to attract attention. Young and adult Amoktäter have some Similarities, but also differences. [9]

After the interdisciplinary empirical analysis of almost all Amoktaten young offenders (dating back to 23 years) in Germany until the early 1990s, has been shown that the core group of young offenders (19 cases, 19 offenders) has specific characteristics. A total of 33 cases were analyzed with 35 young offenders who intended one

Multiple killing attempted or completed. 19 cases can be considered as core cases 14 other cases serve as a peer group because they are in perpetrator personality, Different motive and procedure.

[8] The final report on the Gießen project is available on the homepage of the professorship. Please refer also the literature references, most recently Bannenberg / Bauer Rechtsmedizin 2017, p. 154 ff., p. 162 ff.
[9] This contribution is limited to the young offenders. Results on adult offenders can be found in Final Report, Bannenberg 2017.

Table 1: Core group young Amoktäter (Census)

Case	location	Tatdatum	lone	Gender	age
1	Koblenz	24.08.1992	Yes	male	23
2	Bad Kreuznach	25/12/1994	Yes	male	22
3	Koserow / Stralsund	03./04.07.1997	yes	male	17
	Columbine High School	04/20/1999	two	male	17/18
4	Bad Reichenhall	01.11.1999	Yes	male	16
5	Meissen	09.11.1999	Yes	male	15
6	Brannenburg	16.03.2000	Yes	male	16

7	Eching / Freising	19.02.2002	Yes	male	22
8th	Erfurt	26.04.2002	Yes	male	19
9	Coburg	02.07.2003	Yes	male	16
10	Ansbach	30.01.2006	Yes	male	16
11	Emsdetten	20.11.2006	Yes	male	18
12	Ticino	13/01/2007	two culprits	male	17
13	Winnenden / Wendlingen	11.03.2009	Yes	male	17
14	Bonn / St. Augustin	11.05.2009	Yes	Female	16
15	Ansbach	17.09.2009	Yes	male	18
16	Ludwigshafen	18.02.2010	Yes	male	23
17	Ballenstedt	09/11/2011	Yes	Female	13
18	Hagen / Lüdenscheid	11.01.2013	Yes	male	16
19	Wernigerode	26/02/2013	Yes	Female	15
20	Munich	07/22/2016	Yes	male	18

The act at Columbine High School serves as a relevant reference, which was relevant to almost all perpetrators.

The Munich case was not investigated as part of the Target project.

Among the analyzed acts are, inter alia, the media particularly well-known
Acts from Erfurt, Emsdetten and Winnenden / Wendlingen. The quantitative and qualitative
Case analyzes are based on criminal acts and evidence, self-testimonies of the perpetrators, interviews

with perpetrators and victims as well as the social environment. There were own psychiatric
psychological assessments (diagnoses, relevance of psychopathology and prognoses)
Although the findings of existing psychiatric assessments
considered, but also critically appreciated or rejected. In case of an interview or

several conversations and correspondence with a perpetrator it was easiest to own one
to make psychiatric diagnosis according to the common diagnostic manuals. Was the culprit
Deceased, the assessment of the personality was more complex and difficult, but not
impossible, because some perpetrators had also made extensive self-reports for years.
Was the perpetrator died after the act by suicide, was the assessment of the
Personality through psychological autopsy.

The assignment of cases to a core group of Amoktaten does not mean that there are no
There are differences between the acts and perpetrators. At the core, however, the perpetrators have many
Similarities, especially in the perpetrator personality (loner, weird,
narcissistic, afflicted) and in the approach in planning and execution of the case. The offender
they are not impulsive or aggressive. That is a relevant finding, because one of a
Person who commits or tries multiple kills, may be expected to cooperate with
Violent crime or aggression is conspicuous. That was not the case. At best, showed
some on closer inspection concealed aggressive actions (so was a perpetrator in the
Front of the police or noticed because of the unauthorized leadership of a gas pistol
other harassed younger students without this being noticed or indicated). at
Only a few sadistic parts were present, in fact and in fantasies, too
in self-reports, clearly expressed.

Of the 19 perpetrators in 19 cases (in one case, two offenders acted together, one perpetrator
twice tried to do an act) were all male except for two. The two
girl [10] differed in their personality structure and their fascination for that
Topic amok not from the boys. At most one can speculate that at the first
Act 13-year-old, who as a 15-year-old at another school again tried to classmate too
killing, insofar as was typically female, as she is right with little effective means of action
hesitantly showed in the execution of the deed and was finally overwhelmed quickly. she had
In both cases, no firearms were available, but fantasized about it.

[10] To Amoktäterinnen Bannenberg 2013.

The social background of the perpetrators was usually inconspicuous, the families belonged to the Middle class, were often well-funded, and there was no broken-home

Relationships with violence and social neglect. The parents were usually around that Probably their children - most offenders had siblings - worried. However, there was a later offenders also usually a special relationship. The family members were present externally intact facade next to each other and a relationship of trust of the later offender to parents or siblings did not exist. The siblings, especially the more sensitive Sisters also often noticed the ambivalence of their brother, whom they on the one hand as strange, amokinteressiert, hard to reach and locked, in school overwhelmed, without friends and girlfriend, computer-perceived, but also as lonely and to. But they also regarded their parents as helpless to their brother. The later ones Perpetrators attended mostly high schools, but were overwhelmed in terms of performance. Some They were close to vocational training at a difficult stage, but they did not considered suitable for yourself. It was striking that none of the perpetrators had plans for the future and career wishes were. That played in the diaries and activities, in part over a long period of time are documented, no matter.

Of the 19 young perpetrators of the core group, eight perpetrators have killed themselves (seven have shot himself in the aftermath of the crime, one later killed himself in the execution of the sentence), Four tried, including three who provoked the incoming police officers and almost shot (try suicide by cop). The other eight culprits have expressed suicidal thoughts at various times. Of the 16 perpetrators of the 14th In contrast, cases of the peer group have (only) one after the act itself killed.

If the perpetrators use firearms, the number of casualties is typically higher. With the boys Perpetrators of the core group noticed the difference in the use of the type of murder weapon extremely in the weight. Of the nine acts in which the perpetrators on other means of action (slash and Stabbing weapons, incendiary devices, gas and deterrent pistols), there were six dead. In five cases no one was killed and fatal in the four cases it is two in two cases, and in two other cases one killed each. Injured were other people. In the ten acts in which the young shooter firearms used, however, it came to 44 dead (!). In two cases no one had been killed, in

two cases per victim, two victims in two cases and three in each case

four victims. The two extreme acts formed Erfurt with 16 and Winnenden / Wendlingen with 15 shot victims. The number of persons shot is also much higher than that of the Injured of the comparison group. For example, one perpetrator shot a victim but injured six more difficult. The young offenders usually resorted to improperly secured Firearms in the household back, which the father or another relative than Sport shooter owned. Alternatively, they used slash and stab weapons and incendiary devices.

Table 2: Tatmittel - core group young Amoktäter - 19 cases (19 perpetrators)

	Use firearm	Other means of action
Number of cases	10	9
Number of dead	44	6

The Munich Act confirms the special significance of firearms use. takes In fact, 53 deaths were reported in 11 cases, and 9 cases without Firearms use six dead.

These young Amoktäter commit a planned multiple killing, because they are strange Loners are psychopathologically conspicuous and a motive of anger, hatred and Develop revenge thoughts that are not rationally based. The personality shows narcissistic and paranoid traits, that means the young (mostly male)

Offenders are extremely offensive, but not impulsive or aggressive conspicuous. They often feel humiliated and treated badly without the environment being able to understand this and begin to search the Internet for role models and valves for their anger. They think for a long time about hatred, "revenge" and a terrific murder act, develop pronounced violence and Killing fantasies and in particular, in fact, find themselves at Columbine High School (20.4.1999), which can be found on the Internet in a variety of forms, remains an option the identification. This shows that there are also youth typical aspects of these acts: The Staging the act and self-styling as an avenging victim, what with reality

has nothing in common is a youth-typical facet of these acts. That's why in the Publicly often misunderstood as a cause first person shooter, violent videos and hateful lyrics as well as the weapon affinity also a special meaning as Inspiration and amplifier for the already existing violent fantasies and play one Role in the self-expression of in real life unsuccessful, overwhelmed and self constantly offended feeling offender. In part, the media response is deliberately planned. Together with the more heterogeneous group of adult Amoktäter is the high Meaning of suicide or attempted suicide after the fact. It is about not depressive despair here, but staging their own grandiosity.
The offender demonstrates his power and hatred of society and / or especially attacked groups with a high publicity multiple killing followed by suicide.

Table 3: Young offenders comparison group (multiple killings)

Case	location	Tat Date	Single offender	Gender	Age
1	Florstadt	09.03.1991	two perpetrators	Male	17
2	Mecklenburg	26.9.1998	yes	male	20
3	Stendal	20.05.2000	yes	male	18

4	faithful	18.09.2001 yes	male	14
5	Melle	11.10.2001 yes	male	20
6	Weimar	20.12.2001 yes	Female	19
7	Heidenheim	19.12.2003 yes	male	17
8th	Berlin	26.05.2006 yes	male	16
9	Ulm	10.07.2006 yes	male	20
10	Kaiserslautern	07.09.2009 yes	male	23
11	Bremen	18.12.2009 yes	male	21
12	Eislingen	09.04.2009 two perpetrators	male	18 & 19
13	Friesoythe	01.05.2010 yes	male	19
14	Memmingen	22.05.2012 yes	male	14

The perpetrators and deeds of the comparison group differ significantly from Amoktaten. Just one of the perpetrators (suspected of psychosis, for years in treatment) killed in the aftermath the act itself (a killing of three people and threats to other people) itself another schizophrenic committed a spontaneity in delusion, in which he had five people in Killing intention went off. He had received a counterproductive drug that was his Psychosis broke out again. Typically, most offenders had this Group of criminal motives (greed, domination, power over the victim) or lived sadistic and sexually deviant fantasies in the context of multiple killing. she tried to evade prosecution following the crime. Your Personality may in rare cases be pronounced psychopathic and narcissistic but in most cases as dissocial (little or no empathy, Indifference to the interests of others, persistent and early violation of the norm, manipulative). In one case there was an impulse act of an uncontrolled adolescent who

killing two people without planning it In a strange case had one
For years, a young man developed considerable amok fantasies and was also known to the police
become. He later shifted his killing fantasies to a teacher whom he relented
significant stalking with over 20 knife kills planned killed. The case from Memmingen
At first it seemed to be a typical amokfall, but turned out to be only a few days later
previously resolved act of a 14-year-old representing the separation of his girlfriend angry with it
answered that he came to school with a firearm, fired some shots, but in
a busy cafeteria hurt anyone. Only later did it come to a firefight
with the police, where he gave up when he was shot. He had
was not concerned with amok and came from a very problematic family.

IV. Biography of David Ali Sonboly - motives and causes of action

1st family

David Ali Sonboly was born on 20.4.1998 in Munich. His parents settled in the year 1997 from Iran (Tehran) to Germany. He has a four year younger brother. The family moved several times in Munich, improving from an economic point of view looks at the lifestyle and the neighborhood. The father is more independent Taxi operator, mother worked temporarily. From the outside, it is about a successful integration.

His parents were committed to a harmonious family life. There were no negative ones Educational practices or even abnormalities that are associated with a so-called "broken home" combines. On closer examination, however, there was a certain helplessness of the parents in the Regarding personality development and behavior of her son David (Ali). Sonboly was born Ali and rejected this name as "inferior". From the age of majority in In 2016, he changed his name to David. About this circumstance he spoke with the parents, However, the decision was as independent as previous behavior. With there was little joint activity with the father, but quite a few visits to Tehran, last in 2015. From this time comes a visit to a sports hall, where a picture David (Ali) shooting with a rifle. Of the unknown coaches of this Iranian sports center praised David (Ali) for his good Shooting performances, which made son and father equally proud. The problematic Component of these skills was not aware of the father. Interesting here is the Parallel to some other German Amokfälle, in which the fathers also only one had superficial relationship with her son. But if you shared something, then that Interest in shooting and firearms. The father probably did not draw in the approach Suspected, despite the years of extremely problematic behaviors (Time-consuming first person shooter games and social incompetence in need of treatment mental disorders) of the son knew.

It was noteworthy that David (Ali) obtained the driver's license (April 2016). interested in
But unlike other teenagers, he did not show his own vehicle at all. To
At that time, his plan to commit the act was long gone.

The problem was that David (Ali) did not live *with* his family but *with* her, like everyone else
other Amoktäter too. He hardly spoke, he could not stand physical contact,
he was strangely obsessive about his daily activities and one did not arrive
get him. What really moved him, nobody in the small family knew. After school
David (Ali) retired to his room and stayed there for hours. He did not like it
when someone entered his room and he spent his time essentially alone on the
Room in front of the computer. That he has been since childhood (he put his first Steam account
at the age of nine!) an incredible amount of computer time, especially not
age-appropriate first-person shooters did not remain hidden. It was known that he neither
a girlfriend, still had friends. The father probably took some schoolmates as
"Friends" Alis true, mother and brother not.

His younger brother reported that it was normal for Ali to retire to his room,
Meal rarely shared and barely spoke. The parents realized that he had been with him since early childhood
had emotional deficits, he could comfort as a toddler or anyone
emotionally empathize with another person. Many difficulties pushed the father on the
school problems, but he regarded as recoverable. The years of cognitive
Excessive demand of the slightly underperformed son escaped the parents who took him
also partly wanted to see as gifted. Also the bullying in the classes 5 - 7
David (Ali) did not tell his parents. Only at the end did he tell the father, who
then the school change of the son with this circumstance justified. Since 2010 was
David (Ali) in psychotherapeutic treatment, having already made first contacts in 2007
a psychiatrist gave. Here were very problematic early
Personality development and the parents reacted basically passive and denying.
This attitude can also be found in the parents of other gunmen. Interestingly, that too
a peer who knew David (Ali) from computer games and from school, one
Day (about one and a half years before the act) was so worried that he addressed the father, because
he thought David (Ali) was mentally disturbed and needed help. Last was
The father on the day of the fact called by another classmate, but there it was too
late.

These family relationships are typical of the families of the gunmen. The son introduces
life in solitude beside the other family members, assumes
joint activities and visits hardly participate and leads a double life on the Internet.

2nd school

Sonboly never liked going to school and was always a mediocre to bad student. In
Primary school (2004 to 2007) he fell due to immature behavior, restlessness, missing
Concentration, going around in the classroom and uncontrolled utterances. In the
early testimonials, the evaluation of his behavior is negative (bad student, switches
unresponsive, can only follow simple tasks, incomprehensible expression
in German and others). Striking was already here that he showed behavioral problems; he
I did not want to be with others. In the course of primary schooling improved
Behavior and achievements are something, but it clearly outweighed the impression that he already
was overwhelmed at that time. The problems in German were profound, he got frequently
Tantrums. With a grade average of 3.66, he changed from the ground up
Secondary schools.

From 2008 to 2011 (grades 5 to 8) he attended a hated middle school. In the
fifth grade, it remained at a grade average of 3.50 at the Hauptschulempfehlung. In
The sixth grade was attested to him, but it remained difficult. He received for
own misconduct from slight offenses to massive insults and one
Fighting in the fall of 2011 References. During this time, bullying and repeated attacks also occurred
Violence against him, which was hidden from the teachers and parents (first the police
Investigations in this case produced further details). In 2012 he had in common
reimbursed with his father criminal charges for assaulting fellow students and the
Father wrote an angry letter to the school, where he discusses the bullying that befell him

His son had only reported at that time.
He then moved to a private school, repeated the ninth grade and completed in the
Year 2012/13 with a grade of between 3 and 4 additional exams to the
Hauptschulabschluss successfully. The change to a middle school 2013/14
brought now a positive development. He scored significantly better scores, must be very
have been motivated, reaching a qualifying score of 2.7

Graduation. Even better in the 10th grade in the school year 2014/15, where he was diligent,
was motivated and described conscientiously and was even class president. He obtained the
Intermediate maturity in July 2015 with grades between 3 and 2 (in German 4).

But then the positive phase broke off, he visited in July 2015 a one-month
Preparatory course for the FOS and applied with little chance of success for the FOS. One
Preliminary course was not favorable in terms of performance. In this time after the middle maturity and the
tried to transition to FOS but also fell strong mental abnormalities with a
Two-month inpatient hospitalization in psychiatry and a subsequent
outpatient therapy.

Interestingly, it was partly better in school. He was even in class 10
Class representative and seemed motivated. His academic performance improved. As soon as
but they subsided and he suffered defeats again in the preliminary course for the FOS
his hate-thoughts and his interest in the topic intensified immediately
Amok, which clearly shows that the Amoktat a way out of requirements
generally offered. Due to his narcissistic personality, he was difficult to criticize
bear. His self-image was also significantly clouded. In numerous records he stopped
consider himself clearly superior, and also said his abilities surpass those of - above all
Turkish - classmate by far. That had nothing to do with reality. His
Skills in German and other subjects were modest.

In addition, considering the enormous amount of time he spent on computer games,
It rather puzzles that it is not even earlier and more obvious to a school

Failure came.

Although it first stands out that the 22.7.16 Tattag is in close proximity to the final rejection
the FOS (20.7.16), there is no connection here. The plans were already
advanced for over a year and played for Sonboly the school at this time
no longer matter. Realistic future plans, which he attended the visit of the Fachoberschule
could have made, did not exist for him. Already in June 2015 he was in the first time in
Winnenden. His intensive dealings with gunmen had begun so long ago.

3. Bullying

In grades 5 - 7 (8) Sonboly became of some then male
Classmates of the secondary school bullied. It took over a longer period of time
massive insults took place, he was also beaten, received slaps and it became him
put the leg. A special incident took place in physical education when his clothes got wet
have been done. Among the former perpetrators was a Serb who was also at the time of the act
the typical behavior of an aggressive bully showed. He had left school to get one
BVJ and is considered aggressive and uncontrolled. He was under Sonboly's
Fake account "Selina Akim" has been asked to come to McDonald's at 4pm
and did not know who was behind it. He then went with a whole troupe
young violent men to McDonald's, which says everything about his character.

In the testimony he later stated, with Ali in the 6th - 8th grade of secondary school

to have been together. One did not like it. He played his aggressive
Shares and those of his equally aggressive classmate down significantly and said he and
his friends were more likely to be viewed by the class community, but Ali rather
with the teachers. Ali also insulted him and the others, and besides, he often did
said: "I blow you up!", "you all get killed!". Nobody has that
taken seriously.

Overall, the impression arises that Ali quite bullying and hostility in the
Secondary school in grades 5 to 7 or also up to grade 8, in particular -
but not only - by some young migrants. Ali himself, however, was the (rarer) type of
provocative victim, because he gave the boys strong language and insults
("Turkish son of a bitch", etc.). He did not resist physically, but with counter-insults,
as testimonies of some classmates prove. Also, a teacher tells a later school
Ali had often attacked and felt bullied, even when laughed at trifles
has been. He saw a lot of supposed bullying. The therapist who knew him best,
He also recognized the problematic behaviors and said he had tried him
to make it clear that it would not be good to face classmates
Do you want to go to war?

There was no evidence of bullying in the other schools. Sonboly was enormously sick and
had thoughts of hatred for years. He especially valued Turks and Turkish women, boys
Undercut and girl with revealing clothes extremely off. He justified his amoktat
partly with the experienced bullying, but not on the quite violent and
aggressive incidents in high school can be attributed. At a mental
disturbed personality like Sonboly is the bullying in grades 5 to 7, so to speak
"Water on the mills" and is inflated eternally unforgiving. Own shares in the
He was unable to see conflicts. His vulnerability allowed the aspect of bullying

become a big topic with which he justified his deeds. It also plays
a role that amok runners basically feel like victims, what the justification
the amoctate is of high relevance. In the texts available on the Internet about Amoktäter
This topic is very much in the foreground. But empirical research shows
that in Germany only four of the offenders are actually bullying or even single
Had made experiences of violence at school and their own behavior often rugged and
was derogatory to other teenagers. The legend of the victim lives on.
Already Eric Harris (Columbine, see below), who was extremely hateful and others
People despised and hidden threatened and harmed, is still in the
"Fan scene" as a bullying victim even though he was anything but that.

4. Social contacts - no friends, no girlfriend

From the comments made to a peer (Esma) [11] in more than 60-page chats
in 2014, as well as from his own comments in the Bastian chat, one can assume
that Sonboly wanted a girlfriend. He met Esma in the 2012 Wing Tsun Club
and had little contact with her in real life. The talks prove, however, that he likes
would have been friends with her. In 2013, there were incidents in which Esma unknown to her
Massive teenagers in contact with Sonboly through the social network
was insulted. In the summer of 2014, there were longer conversations between the two,
who were on a comradely level. They talked about the Turkish stay
of the girl, daily school issues and eventually it became problematic. Sonboly
did not approve of some attitudes towards a girl, which conflicted with Esma's opposition.
It became bizarre when he returned from the insults by the alleged others

11 It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

Young people talked and at the same time insults on social networks against Esma again
started. Sonboly now presented himself to Esma as someone who accused her of being blamed

to "save" the aggressive youth. He pretended contact and influence on this

To have people. However, the people he invented insulted his peers

and Esma asked Sonboly several times in vain to finally take action

become. It was then clear to her that Sonboly himself was behind it and broke the

Contact in September 2014. Here began the relevant planning phase of the act. Sonboly

itself had destroyed the beginning comradely relationship. It was certainly clear to him

(as the dialogues show) that Esma was friendly but not intimate

Relationship with him. They did not meet either. So he reacted as usual: he

valued her to feel better. For this he chose the indirect way of

supposedly others through the social network.

Later, in 2015, he wrote her (as Neo - she knew that name) once again for her birthday

and under the unidentifiable name "AmokläuferZ" with cryptic abbreviations,

which she simply deleted.

Even the casual contacts with the classmates or computer players can not be considered

To refer to friendships. The schoolmate who had known him since elementary school was

with him until recently on online computer games in loose contact, but had been

At the end of 2014 at the latest, very distant because he threats, amok fantasies and

Hate tirades no longer endured. Also this same age had unsuccessful contact with the

Father Sonbolys and his concern that Ali is psychologically conspicuous and need

Help, expressed. Sonboly was not interested in closer relationships with other people, although he did

was quite able to enter into casual relationships, as well as acquaintances

with the slightly younger Ahmed [12] from the clinic or to some classmates showed.

5. "recreational behavior" - computer games and their role

David (Ali) Sonboly had no friends and no girlfriend. Probably he stood with some

Schoolmates and acquaintances in contact, but they spent next to the school

sharing time only while playing computer games. Also kept on social networks

Sonboly to some persons contact. The sports activities in the Wing Tsun Club ended

[12] It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

after a short time in 2012. He was largely alone at home in his room and did not maintain close social contacts or joint activities. He did not go out. In he gave the family no information about his solitary activities. If he does that Left home, he did not give any information about the goal and intentions. When he is traveling to visit Winnenden or buy the firearm (from which the parents had no idea), his absence at home was noticeable. He explained himself not to the parents.

The referral to the computer and especially with ego-shooters (see below 10th) was very time consuming. Of leisure behavior you can hardly speak, since he the Performance area in favor of his time-consuming computer recourse long ago had neglected. He went to school regularly, so he did not skip the one Classes. During the lessons, he was often mentally absent.

6. Matrix and the viruses

The movie Matrix played a big role in the thinking of Sonboly. Also with the Amoktäter Bastian Bosse (Emsdetten, November 20, 2006) played the main character "Neo" a role.

The 1999 movie Matrix starred with Keanu Reeves in the lead role after his appearance a certain cult status as a "cyber science fiction thriller". On The cover says the content of the film: "The hacker Neo is on the Internet of a mysterious underground organization contacted. The head of the group - the wanted Terrorist Morpheus - inaugurates him into a horrible secret: the reality, as we do experience is only a phoney world. In truth, people have long since come from one dominated by sinister virtual power - the Matrix, whose agent Neo is already in the sights have. "(To this film later sequels, the less successful were. There is also a Playstation 2 version). To the film one can certain on PC play interactive scenes (and of course a stronger reference to the film cause). Sonboly was very much inspired by Neo, he called himself in various variants in

Play Neo, also in What's App-Chats and Forums. It does not seem that he
Reality and film could no longer distinguish, but he spoke and wrote frequently of
Neo, the matrix and viruses. There was no schizophrenia here, no delusion and no
Mixing the reality with the virtual world before, but a youthful (but

extreme) Identification and revaluation of the meaning of the film in own real contents for
David Ali Sonboly.

The film is about the "chosen one". As such, Sonboly considered himself safe. Of the
Film begins with the computer enthusiastic pale loner Neo (the name under which
the hacker in the virtual world), who in real life is an inconspicuous employee
a computer company. His screen briefly lights up with the following message: "The
Matrix has you. "Neo becomes an identification figure for Sonboly. The confused Neo at the beginning
is contacted by people who ask him to follow them. One of the main characters, the
Attractive Trinity says to him at the beginning, "I know who you are. I know what you are doing.
I know why you're sitting at your computer night after night. ... "; it will be clear here
that Sonboly is in a similar situation. After all kinds of esoteric
Geschwurbel asks Trinity rhetorically: "What is the matrix? She will find you if you have it
want."

Neo is sympathetic, sensitive, vulnerable, confused. In the scene after the conversation with
Trinity comes to a confrontation with the unfortunate reality. A superior
says coldly to the pale, nervous, ill-dressed Thomas Anderson (neo): "You have
a problem, Mr. Anderson. They think they are special. Someone for whom no
Rules apply. ... If an employee has a problem, the company has a problem (it acts
a computer company [13]). Either, you're right on time right now
They are looking for a new job. "Here are similarities to the life situation Sonbolys
available.

The next time Neo is called by Morpheus, he leaves the warning: "They are behind you. "It comes to an escape scene with fear and danger in the neo through

Agent is fixed in an office. These raise the charge of a double life:
"For some you are Thomas Anderson; in your other life you are known as neo,

the big hacker. "Neo escapes after being bugged and has one in the night

Nightmare. Now Morpheus calls him and says, "You are the chosen one." Neo meets in the

Connection with companions of Morpheus and is taken in a car hostage. you

he removes the scary bug and Neo realizes that his nightmare was a reality.

[13] Remember that a summer job, apart from delivering newspapers to Sonboly, was in one Computer company to co-operate with his cousin.

Now Morpheus, the one sought by all the world, appears; with sunglasses and a black one Mantel he leads a conversation with Neo: "You feel it all your life, that with

the world is wrong. You do not know what, but it is there, like a splinter in yours Head that drives you crazy. Do you know what I'm talking about? "

Neo: "From the Matrix."

Morpheus: "Do you want to know what exactly she is? The matrix is omnipresent, it surrounds us ... It is a phoney world, which one pretends to you, to you from the truth

distracting. "

Neo: "What truth?"

Morpheus: "That you are a slave, Neo. You were born into slavery like everybody else live in a prison ... a prison for your mind. Unfortunately it is

hard to explain to anyone what the matrix is. Everyone has to experience it for themselves. "

In the following scene, Neo has to decide if he wants to "stay stupid" or if he wants to

want to know what the matrix is. He decides with the choice of a red capsule for

the latter.

Next esoteric talk without meaning and a disgusting physical follows
Transformation.

Neo wakes up in the future. He wakes up and is part of a computer program. You want
hack the matrix. The world is desolate, empty and sinking. What happened? To
At the beginning of the 21st century, humankind was in a euphoric mood ("we
admired our own intelligence "). There was a boom in AI and new ones
Machinery. "We do not know who started the war then, we or they. In any case
we were the ones who dimmed the sky. "The machines are now in use
People as energy source in mass breeding on fields.

Neo asks, "What is the matrix?"

Morpheus: "Control. The Matrix is a computer-controlled dream world created
was to keep us under control. That's the truth, the reality. "

Neo resists, does not want to believe that.

Morpheus states that the oracle said, "When the matrix was born, there was one too
Chosen, who frees the others. He alone has the ability to die after his death
to destroy and free all. "Morpheus believes that Neo is the chosen one and says
him that.

Now begins training in numerous skills and fighting techniques and Neo will like
programmed a computer. There is still a small remnant of the world where real
People live.

In the meantime, agents have kidnapped Morpheus. The agent executes:

"I have come to an interesting discovery since I am in the Matrix. It struck me as I tried to classify your species. You are not really right in the true sense Mammals. Any kind of mammal on this planet instinctively develops a natural one Balance with their environment, but you humans do not. You are moving in certain area and multiply until all natural resources are exhausted. And the The only way to survive is to spread to another area. THERE IS STILL ONE ORGANISM ON THIS PLANET, WHICH ALREADY TRAPS. YOU KNOW, WHICH ONE? THE VIRUS. MAN IS A DISEASE. THE SEASON THIS PLANET. YOU ARE AS THE PEST. And we are the cure. "

Sonboly found in this "favorite movie" sure his virus template, which he on certain Foreigners groups and girls broadcast. He did not take over all the crude matrix History of the film in an uncritical way, but some elements. He identified himself with the "chosen one", with Neo, but also developed his own world of enemy images. For him, the viruses were Turks, German Turks, Turkish and German-Turkish women as well Albanians in particular, but also people who are not in his worldview fit (that could have been liberally dressed girls with fashionable preferences or physically active male adolescents). The entire statements about viruses, some Psychologists were mystified, were for him his enemy pictures. Here it is not about delusions, but about thoughts of hate, those through the film, but also through Breivik (exterminating all Muslims in Europe), gunmen like Eric Harris and Bastian Bosse (Columbine, all you hate, destroy - natural selection, humanity is overrated [14]), the

[14] These terms were used by Eric Harris to express his hatred and his killing fantasies care for. The terms have reached the Internet via the "Columbine Documents" and were also used by others Amokläufern taken over. There is a homemade video of bosses (Emsdetten), in which he has this

Mobber of those days (classmates in grades 5 - 7 in secondary school) as well as the specific first-person shooters were inspired.

For him the solution means: The "chosen one" (Sonboly called himself "Neo" for years) kills

young people, first young migrants of the special enemy group, with a firearm in an extreme act of violence. He continues to attack young and old men and women, arbitrary, whether migrant or not. Here he is Neo in the black coat, but also David-Ali from several first person shooters with his special mission. There are takeovers Manhunt2 and other games. The trailer scene of the film takes place towards the end of the film the house roof. In fact, elements of these virtual worlds are clearly to be found (scene Parking garage roof).

He called himself at the end NeoGer. (Here can only be speculated, if it is a Abbreviation for Germany is, in a sense, the German Neo, the German Amoktäter.)

In puberty, temporary identifications with movie characters are not unknown Years of strange dealing with certain media that are intense with your own person is connected, but is extreme and also attracted other Amoktätern on. So could about Vann very well, as the "NIU School Shooter" Steve Kazmierczak in the run up to the Act at the Northern Illinois University on Valentine's Day 2008 of some film series such was obsessed that he appropriated their style. [15]

7. Psychopathological abnormalities

Sonboly was mentally conspicuous since 2007 and had been around since that time (around the age of nine Years) contacts with psychotherapists and psychiatrists who persisted to the end in the Years 2015 and 2016 were very intense.

At the beginning in the year 2007 until 2009 were logopedic clarifications and scholastic Problems. The first contacts took place in the psychiatric practice with Dr. med. (Dr. 1) and Dr. (Dr. 2) instead (2007 - 2009). Beside these few contacts there was also in the Year 2013 dates at which first ADHD with appropriate drug administration and

Spread messages. Bosse's journal identifies with Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold. The Finnish gunman Auvinen (2007) wore a T-shirt with this message (humanity is overrated and referred to Columbine and Harris in their farewell letter.

[15] Vann 2011.

later a social phobia was diagnosed. Also the bullying and the unadjusted
Social behavior was the focus of early discussions. It was diagnostically about the
Clarification of adolescent abnormalities such as adjustment disorders, ADHD and
Developmental disabilities.

The psychotherapist Dr. (Dr. 3), in which he has a total of 55 outpatient
Therapy hours spent. Between 13.01.2010 and 08.02.2010 led the
Psychologist (Dr. 3) Preliminary talks with Sonboly. From 03.03.2010 to 21.06.2010
Therapy sessions took place. In this first therapeutic contact were
problematic behaviors and views Sonbolys discussed. After that, one seemed
Improvement occurred. From 13.11.2012 to 11.12.2012, however, because
re-emerging problem behavior, longer therapeutic efforts are envisaged.
Further discussions then took place from 24.07.2013 to 22.06.2015. The last contact
had Dr. (Dr. 3), who finally recommended inpatient accommodation on 28.09.2015.
After that, Sonboly declined to contact Dr. (Dr. 3).

The recommended inpatient accommodation took place in the period from 29.07. - 22.09.2015 in one
Hospital. Here was Dr. (Dr. 4) attending psychiatrist. She advocated one
longer inpatient accommodation, but Sonboly and his parents disagree
were. She was supported by a diploma social pedagogue, who especially the
Therapeutic treatment of social behavior and the time-consuming computer game problem
should.

After the 28.09.2015 took over Dr. med. (Dr. 5) the outpatient therapy following the
inpatient accommodation. There were four appointments in 2015 and seven appointments a year
2016 takes place. Dr. (Dr. 5) prescribed the drugs Abilify and Mirtazapine, the Sonboly
took some time, but then because of weight problems, tiredness and anxiety
the side effects listed in the leaflet.

From 15.10.2015 to 15.02.2016 there was a clarification because of autism in one
specialized outpatient clinic. In February 2016, autism was taken for granted.

Recently, there was a single appointment in the university hospital (children and
Youth psychosomatic). Here one negated the diagnosis of a social phobia, but saw

urgent treatment needs.

On the whole, the psychoanalytic disorder that has become known is almost ten years old very relevant. Even if the diagnoses differ and thereby at the beginning of the early Age with the possibility of developmental disorders as well as different accents of Therapists were found to have almost all basically a significant behavioral and Personality accentuation indicating therapeutic needs. The recommendations, early on in the direction of developing social skills and group training, were basically not implemented. Not only the refusal of David Ali Sonbolys played here a role, but also that of his parents who are very different in different situations denied. This coincides with observations of other parents of gunman. Man pushes the psychologically striking accents on performance impairments or pushes even to third parties (bullying). This is repeated in the son and later offender Behavior, which already showed the parents rudimentary: One denies the true problems of pronounced mental disorders, ward off the psychiatric problem and push Blame it on third parties.

Toward the end of the preparations (end of 2015, 2016) Sonboly was in his submissions is no longer so open to the psychiatrist as it is in inpatient care Fall 2015 or in the therapy talks with Dr. med. (Dr. 3).

The psychopathological development in particular remained (Dr. 3) not hidden. He noticed the problems of escalating computer gaming, which not only far too time consuming was, but also had problematic content glorifying violence. Sonboly already showed at that time killing fantasies, loved the virtual first person shooter worlds and was in his Social behavior difficult. The killing fantasies were directed against fellow human beings at an early age in general, also explicitly against the brother or against classmates. Goal of early therapies Above all, it was a reduction in PC gaming and the development of social skills. Dr.

(Dr. 3) saw the narcissistic features with hostile and social-phobic behavior. you
wanted to strengthen his self-esteem and clarify the subject matter of the matrix and the viruses of
which fascinated Sonboly. Dr. (Dr. 3) also recognized phases. He saw that the condition of the
Adolescents always hung with specific events together. When things went well, I improved
his condition, when it went badly, it came to frustrations, disorders in behavior and
to amok fantasies and death threats. A concrete self or other endangerment saw
Dr. (Dr. 3) never, he later considered autism to be inaccurate. He only saw a few
Autism points as fulfilled, even a psychoses-related development (but no

Psychosis). Self-critically he acknowledged that after the fact, they rate something different
must. But it should also be noted that Dr. (Dr. 3) the rising problem in autumn
2015 did not know anymore. In 2013, however, he saw the "bad thoughts" Sonbolys
clearly, the "strong social withdrawal", the "massive personality disorder" and the
negative relevance of first-person shooters. He knew about "blatant comments," "blatant aggressive
Thoughts "(slaughter fellow classmates, see brother die falling from loft bed). Dr. (Dr.
3) knew about the specific background of school disappointment, including that of
Parents. The father tried for a while to withhold his son's PC, which was not
succeeded in the long term. Dr. (Dr. 3) saw very clearly a relationship disorder with clearly
distorted social perception, paranoid and narcissistic traits as well as hostile and
social phobic behavior. Only on the subject of matrix he took an unclear attitude
(psychosenah, because he does not realize the possible delusion of a notion of a matrix
could exclude). This was not a psychosis (see above, 6). (Dr.
3) ultimately did not accept. Dr. (Dr. 3) also knew about foreigner hatred. He realized
Also very well the provocative character Sonbolys and its share of the
Insults and hostilities that he experienced in school. Dr. (Dr. 3) explained, Ali
I did not answer when he was approached. If he felt pressed,
he had extremely offended foreigners and became racist. He then threatened wildly

and retreated extremely into his first-person shooter world. If it went well, he could do this But also give up attitude, make contacts and even become class president.

In inpatient accommodation (right after school failure in pre-class the FOS) from 29.7. - 22.9.2015 stood for Dr. med. (Dr. 4) the topic matrix and viruses in the Foreground. When asked, he clearly did not appear to be psychotic. However, she knew also of hostile and xenophobic statements and swastikas. She denied the possible foreign hazard. The supporting social worker knew about the fears of Co-patients before Sonboly, however, denied the relevance of amok fantasies and played their seriousness down.

It was noticeable that six young fellow-patients at that time were unpleasant to threatening Contents in Sonbolys utterances perceived. A male teenager noticed Sonbolys different behaviors and saw that he painted swastikas. A Teenagers heard statements with shootings, first-person shooters, bullying, but Sonboly for a nice guy. Four other teenagers partially saw the menacing signs

clearer and took them more seriously. The later in contact with Sonboly standing Ahmed Chatting with him on relevant topics such as Breivik, IS, Islamist terror and assassinations in Paris, he knew about the referral Sonbolys with Weapons, amok and death and also criticized him in many places. If it was too much for him, he answered no more. He tried Sonboly of the topics and the extreme To dissuade view. He also knew of hints Sonbolys in the case of school Failure. In the end, however, he was neither initiated into a plot nor did he keep a deed seriously possible.

Three teenage girls were much more worried. They often heard that Ali said he Wanted to be called "AmokläuferZ" that he spoke of amok, death threats (I kill you all!) that he painted swastikas and spoke positively about Hitler. she

worried about therapists who "explained away" these concerns
and did not take it seriously. They justified the talk Sonbolys with its experienced bullying
(!) and did not ask. The three girls did not calm down, they wanted out of fear
to be picked up by the parents.

The perpetrators often know themselves that they are mentally disturbed and that their hate thoughts and Killing fantasies are not normal. That was no exception.

He said to Esma in 2014: "I want to tell you that I'm not quite healthy."

On the one hand, Sonboly may have hoped that he would receive help in psychiatry. He was more often voluntarily in treatment and he did not keep his killing thoughts secret. He was, however
not seriously questioned. On the other side was the thought of the implementation of the act
become very strong. The further the planning went on, the more it was about the
Implementation of the act. He did not accept the diagnosis of autism (true); here is too too
suspect that he had the impression that one could not help him. To a stationary
Neither he nor his parents were ready at this time. A
forcible placement due to external hazard was not considered at any point.

The Narcissistic of his mental disorder, however, also left him in the end (2015/2016)
heading for the deed. He then refused further psychotherapies.

Tragic, but not uncommon in rare cases of amoctates, is that
Psychiatrists and psychologists of child and adolescent psychiatry, although the violence and Killing fantasies were known, but were classified as not relevant. Concrete is too

differentiate: The long in first contact with Sonboly standing Dr. (Dr. 3) registered the
Threats and killing fantasies certainly and also classified them as questionable. By doing
However, last year he had no contact with David (Ali), because this rejected and
even a release from the obligation of secrecy failed. This would have the exchange of
Psychiatrists and psychologists with each other. Miss Dr. (Dr. 4) were the

problematic behavioral components Sonbolys also not unknown. She denied, however an external hazard, although just in the inpatient accommodation fellow patients too Were very worried and had said so. After that, Sonboly kept his plans hidden.

This dilemma will only be solved in the future if forensic psychiatrists working in the Clarification of danger after threatening utterances are experienced in such cases be involved. In addition, child and adolescent psychiatry must like the Normal psychiatry on the harbingers of rare amoctatoses (and terrorist Individual data).

Strange was the behavior, under false identities, various dialogues between to pretend to other people who were supposed to be around him (the Bastian chat has another meaning, see below).

Here he was also concerned to find out how the others think of him. Furthermore It was an unusual way of communicating his intentions without opening them up Way to express. The narcissistic component also outweighs one possible call for help, the fact still want to know prevented by third parties. He plays ultimately, with the others pretending that David (Ali) was wrongly suspected, to plan a rampage and "refutes" the assumptions, but brings so the topic close to the others.

This was partly found in other Amoktätern, but none so pronounced.

8. Development to the Amoktäter - first thoughts, Tatplanung and Tatausführung

The first thoughts of killing people and an amoctatic date back a long way. Hateful statements and announcements were all too early to want to kill everyone registered in school, chats and psychotherapists. In classes 5 to 7 fall in

Dispute situations already derogatory insults accompanied by utterances, all kill to want. These first utterances were not yet signs of a preparation for the act, because they came about in heated situations. But they already showed fundamental problems at. Sonboly as a young student was unable to resolve conflicts, relationships and To enter into bonds and was certainly full of social fears. He also provoked with xenophobic sayings. At the same time he seemed strange to the others and felt alien and different in society.

He had already created his first Steam account in 2007, already in elementary school. One can therefore assume that the mental flight in not age-appropriate Computer games started very early and here he largely unnoticed his anger but that it also introduced a pattern of incompetent social behavior, always was further strengthened. Virtual he practiced with it for the later act, because he deals with the figures identified by answering his own powerlessness and anger with virtual killing. at In these activities, learning social skills in the real world fell by the wayside.

The junior high school was certainly a problematic phase and due to the bullying that missing friends as well as the performance issues a time in which a relevant one already Problem behavior became apparent. His personality, however, developed since childhood problematic. The enormous vulnerability in everyday situations and the self-image of a good one Schülers, who is superior to others, met the reality of the evaluation in any case satisfactory, rather just sufficient range. Even the early psychotherapeutic Efforts brought the deficits (expression, language, incomprehensible articulation, Behavioral abnormalities) clearly expressed without a noticeable improvement occurred. Not only were his shortcomings in school and social behavior safe consciously, he also felt constantly alien and different.

In the first few hours of psychotherapy (with Dr. 3), the thoughts of hate were already noticeable. He was but only 12 years old and there were development problems. The therapy solved his problem Not. In puberty, the problem behavior rather increased and it was now (2012/13) already more frequent death threats and hatred felt.

The problem of not having a girlfriend, although he with his peers Esma, he 2012 in Wing-Tsun-Club, would like to have been close friends, led one further escalation. As of September 2014, he needs the idea of being a "normal"

To be a teenager. He began to work hard for others
Amoktäter to interest.

Already at the end of 2014 he began to deal intensively with other deeds and amoktaters
(see below 12.). He visited Winnenden, dealt with the act in Emsdetten,
of course intense with Columbine, with some American gunfighters. The
Information is readily available when the interested party starts to deal with relevant information
Internet pages to deal with.

In 2015, he still had a scholastic sense of achievement, but that had no relevance
more, because another school path or a career orientation for him uninteresting
has been. He began to deal with the availability of firearms,
researched to other Amoktätern and was fully occupied so far. The burden of
approaching deed and his killing fantasies was still noticeable. In this time fell the
increasing mental crisis and he also spent two months in the inpatient
Psychiatry.

9. Self-testimonials

Self-testimonies are numerous in different form, as with other Amoktätern
usually too. These include deliberately written thoughts to justify the act as well
Messages for posterity. Also the pictures of other offenders who either saved,
be changed, rearranged or newly overlaid in videos with music and messages,
belong to such testimonials, because they indicate the intensive referral, but also the
Meaning, which the perpetrators now want to achieve themselves. In part, these served only the
Imagination and imagination, how and when the deed should be done to whom. Such
materialized, written down, fantasies play an important role in the

Radicalization. The offender can enjoy his violent fantasies in order to grow up
and to feel powerful. He can imagine how he commits the crime and what the consequences are
will have. He can stand in line with former perpetrators and has in all this
Sizing ideas that satisfy subjectively, as a perpetrator in the interview also clearly
executed. But at some point, the fantasies are no longer enough. The many self-testimonials
then serve the more concrete preparation. The offender leaves the imagination piece by piece
become more real. He also struggles with the question of whether he will really be capable of his thoughts

to put into action. Also to serve the hateful lyrics with killing intentions.
In part, statements about peers are to be understood as a cry for help,
partly but also simply an expression of the time-consuming treatment with an amoctate,
which already dominates thinking.

The deliberately left message of Sonbolys on the formatted hard disk had the
Function of the justification with already fixed decision shortly before the commission of the
Did. The file was the only one found on this PC immediately. Under the name: "Me
will now extinguish every German Turk no matter who.docx "saved, was the content
short: *"The bullying will pay off. The suffering that was inflicted on me will
returned. "*

The file should therefore be found by the police in any case. Out of all the others
Files and voice messages on other hard drives, mobile phones, laptops and
Storage media, partially readable files and texts in a different form
but there was a much more comprehensive picture of the hatred of a mentally disturbed boy
People.

"My fight with the people"

Already in April 2015 he wrote the text: "Mein Kampf mit den Menschen". On two
Pages shows the psychopathological side of Sonbolys very well. He addressed his

Being different, being alien: *"Ever since the 3rd grade, I've noticed that I'm different, behave differently, ... "* .[16]

He took up thoughts of Bastian Bosse (Emsdetten, see below 12) (victims of society). And he glorified himself with simultaneous unreal blaming of others: *"In In childhood I was a very friendly, hyperactive person ... Well unfortunately, I think so Not that my life has any coincidence, I fell into the wrong lane. The pressure, the gave me Fr. R. (...) from the 3-4 class, changed my behavior to the future ... "* . After that began massive foreigner and misanthropic devaluations, in which he presented herself as a victim (the Bosnian whose family he would wipe out, the fat Afghan with 12 siblings ...). Also of the matrix was here as a matter of course. He claimed to have been bullied from day one, which is not true,

[16] The texts Sonbolys contain numerous errors, here in each case the original text in excerpts played.

but illuminates his distinct vulnerability and personality. He was sick and immensely resentful, in order to exaggerate their own meaning. The hatreds were both an expression of anger and an attempt to feel better about oneself. After a few Sentences in the confused hate pamphlet he came to the alleged victims Tim K. and Bastian B. to speak and went into dripping self-pity. He grieved over the loss of Acquaintances (classmates, with whom he had often played computer games, but because of his hate tirades had distanced him from), at the same time to the matrix, revenge and To pass over billing. Again followed Hass, who took on externals of the same age Girls and boys and attached to ethnic devaluations. He mentioned the Uselessness of educational and therapeutic efforts and announced: *"My Attention will by far exceed the case of Tugce Albayrak, for mine Anger will be immeasurable. "*

"My manifesto. The Redeemer. The revenge on those who are on my conscience to have"

In a similar difficult bearable style is another text on 24.7.2015 (almost a Year before the act). The two-page text "My manifest. The Redeemer. The revenge on those who have me on my conscience "shows in a rough mix the Psychopathology, the hatred, the justification of the amok thoughts and the reference to certain foreigners he equates with viruses.

"The revenge on those ..." . Subjectively, this clearly shows the motive of the afflicted narcissistic disturbed personality, objective is the mixture of the elements he leads not rational.

"Not a day goes by without more my plan of revenge ..." he was hateful about former Classmates out and generalized his rejection of the people in the district "Hasenbergel" with the comparison, the district was infected with the "virus": *"The Foreign subhumans with mostly Turkish-Balkan roots rule the Crime and are responsible for the destabilization of the district. they have one Below average IQs are very aggressive ... "* This style continues.

"So now I come to the main part of my text, namely the investigation of this Cockroaches, subhumans, people I'm going to execute. "

The text breaks off after some remarks on the viruses.

These statements show in a very clear form his hatred thoughts, violence and Kill fantasies based in a narcissistic sense of superiority. He is also One year before the act was obsessed and is in the middle of the planning phase. Here He must express his anger and hatred in order to advance the further planning float.

The **third short text** contains the following passage:

"My anger will split you, as when the San Andreas digging begins. An energy

is released, which corresponds to nearly quadrillion atomic bombs. "

He is thus concerned with the act of maximum attention.

Bastian chat (19., 20.07.2016)

Particularly interesting is the Bastian chat. The police investigation yielded none References to a real existing Bastian or Sebastian, also no "Amok-Cell "can be found. This confirms the assumption that the chat was something else. In In the whole development of the Sonboly there was already a tendency, many thoughts as a voice message or in recordings. His few social contacts found less in personal conversations than in various chats. He also had the a strange habit of appearing under false identities on several occasions.

The Bastian chat shows that a real Bastian does not exist. Rather, it is alone to David Sonboly, who here with himself in dialogue between David and Bastian last Make decisions to action. Bastian is not chosen by accident, but it is so to speak, the spirit of Bastian Bosse, who after his deed on November 20, 2006 in Emsdetten took his life and the Internet through his diary extracts and Video sequences "lives on". The original products Bosses found his way to today Notoriety in the amok fan scene, because he sent these before the act to some people and they got onto the internet and are still used today be set. The journal part owned by Sonboly stood on one obscure fan page, which also the real name of the offender of Bastian in Sebastian falsified.

In only 19.7.2016, so only a few days before the act created, "Chat" is about Lovesickness, hatred, revenge (towards girls and young people in general) and around the Justification of the act. Also here are the peculiar style forms (plural, purported) Existence of Groups - Bonds to Breivik and the Unabomber (equal to) and the Fan-Scene on Steam).

"David, are you there?" Begins the supposed dialogue (one feels again at the beginning of the movie Matrix). David reports at the beginning that he's the movie "Green Mile" and that he liked this movie to suddenly listen to *"German Turks"* proceed. "Bastian" (Sonboly) answers: *"... now you have ours Movement a little encapsulated, I know what it feels like I know. Your 350 balls are enough for the final offense. Is it again the German-Turkish girl what you can fall back in your cave? "* [17] But this part gives a lot about the thinking of Sonboly price. On the one hand, he tries to use the detached and yet naively strange style Bastian Bosses, which becomes clear in the diary and (farewell) video to others also beat his own style. At Sonboly you can feel the youthful Immature and at the same time anger, hatred and inability, rejection by the girl To process Esma. This sentence refers to "our movement". In order to is not meant for gangbangers a group movement in the sense of group perpetrators, but the fan scene, which is present on the Internet and which largely as strengthening Sympathizer scene is to be understood. The scene is important to make sure and in eternal repetition the alleged justification of the acts as revenge on the To thematise society. "I know how it feels" is the hint of that already died Bastian (Bosse), who committed suicide after his act. "Final impulse" - hereby is figuratively again the justification of the deed addressed to Sonboly (as in Breivik) had a special group (Muslims) in the sights, which should be attacked. Here is but through dialogue with oneself no real propaganda in the game, but one Assurance before the act. The enemy group "German Turks" is now but special understandable. The immature Sonboly can not forgive her peers Esma, that she herself never got in closer with him and then after the last longer chat conversation in the September 2014 also very clearly at a distance. He clearly shows his revenge Irrationally: *"I want to take revenge on all those who kill themselves because of reasons where I myself go insane. But this girl has her*

[17] All errors in the original.

I do not deserve it. " " Bastian "puts it in a nutshell: *" Everything because of her? "" Because you had feelings for her? "* Sonboly is therefore aware of his problem in the beginning, at the same time but was his amok plan after intensive preparation and weapons procurement shortly before Execution. He valued his peers and sank into self-pity. He mentioned 850 pages (which of course did not even exist in the beginning, Sonbolys "manifesto" is whole two pages long, further own pamphlets have a similar extent). Now was talking about *"Islamic converting sacks"* that needed to be attacked. However, the unique Sonboly will do the act alone, because *"Our Others Members have already given up "* . Again follows a break in the text and a lament of the Chat talks with her peers Esma in 2014, which were canceled by her. *"You have all the hope for this girl set and were only disappointed."* Again follows the devaluation: It is now about the *"German Turkish Alewititn"* , the *"your punishment gets very hard to feel "* . The devaluations are now mixed with the Young people from school, in between, he goes back into self-pity. He gave She blames her too for *"every day shooting games"* . Again after longer Devaluations of the swing to Amok. He puts himself as great in the center: *"after Your killing spree will, as always, raise many questions ... "* There is a change in the plural and a detached theatrical style. The talk of *"OPs"* (operations) has no real content, it springs from his imagination and has the reason to do the deed justify. If he supposedly acts in harmony with several, it can not go wrong be. All sorts of set pieces with which he has worked are placed here (Wording partly from Bosses diary; truck = Nice; bombs; drug Kanaken, McDonald's = also parts of the real plot planning). Entire teams are being invented to oppose the *"asylum stream"* . It also sounds bonds from Breiviks Comments to: *"4.5 years, everything cost me here ..."*

Towards the end, it's all about one *thing* again: *"The monkey from the Toni Pfülf School will be be one of the most powerful in Germany. "* After paging about the Peers and massive devaluations of others *"Salafists, Kanaks,*

Economic refugees ... " comes to the solution: He against all and he saves the world and is admired. He thinks about whether she should die or not. Ultimately, should the *"Alawitic toad" to* think and live on, because fate so wanted.

Towards the end, it also comes to hateful mentions of the young people who have him locked when playing online (and he partially threatened on Tattag).

The whole fictitious dialogue shows in an impressive way that the not twisted "Defeat" not being able to win the girl over is a much stronger driver is as a general xenophobia or even the bullying that in these last few days no Role played. It is about the narcissistic limitless of convinced young people, the justifies his act. But the effort in creating this last document shows that Need for support and justification. Years of hateful thinking alone Sonboly not yet put into the killing readiness he really needed to do the act perform. That's why he wrote the text.

Interesting is the use of the plural, the "we-form", in some utterances in chats and especially in the Bastian chat.

To fake this way of standing for an entire group of like-minded people is different Cases known: The notorious Una bomber Theodore Kaczynski, whose "manifesto" Anders Behring Breivik [18] served as a template and was taken over by this almost literally, uses the "we-form". The probably as unstable and highly intelligent young man radicalized by strange psychological experiments at Harvard [19] Kaczynski had after successful career start as a mathematician led a recluse life in the forest and between 1978 until his arrest in 1996, many letter bombs above all Universities and one airline sent (hence the designation Un (iversity) and a (irline)

bomber). Three people were killed and many injured. He later has an 83-page
Letter of justification written, especially against scientific progress
directed.[20] Breivik has many from this work, which has been baptized by the media "Manifesto"
coherent passages and only the words "Leftism" against him
exchanged more appropriate words such as "cultural Marxism" and "multiculturalism". Interesting is
in the fact that he must have dealt intensively with Kaczynski. He did not just take over
same-word passages, but above all the "we" style, his own pamphlet
irregularly pervades and the idea of a group. Kaczynski had a group "FC"
Breivik invented the Knights Templar. Above all, however, the high intelligence of Kaczynski seems

[18] For details, see Bannenberg, FS for Wolter, 2013, p. 1205 ff.
[19] Chase, Harvard and the Making of the Unabomber. The Atlantic June 2000 (Part 1 - 4);
www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/2000/06/chase.htm.
[20] Theodore *Kaczynski* : "Industrial Society and Its Future"
her future = The Unabomber Manifesto.

(this should have an IQ between 155 and 167) was a reason for Breivik
be to deal with it and still rise above it.

The pamphlet Breiviks ("2083") available on the internet [21]) is a pseudoscientific
Justification of his act. [22]

Apart from inspirations through the Breivik pamphlet, the use of the plural has
an increase in the importance of one's own person to the content. It's not like that
to go out that Sonboly knew that the police have enormous investigative capacity on the
Determining the supposed Bastian and the Amokgruppen would use, but that he
wanted to make himself more meaningful in the use of the plural in the imagination,
can be accepted. The assumption of entire groups of like-minded, the one
to follow and commit similar acts is a dream of Eric Harris
(Columbine) and is typically found in Amoktätern.

Sonboly mentioned the movie "The Green Mile" a few days before the act. This movie has no
great relevance, but he is the template for the peculiar consideration, the girl Esma

should not die but "live with her guilt" She has no blame on herself,

in the twisted perception of the perpetrator, however, she is for his alleged misfortune

responsible. Also in this detail shows the strong mental disorder.

Chat with Ahmed

This chat is interesting. Sonboly knew about two years younger Ahmed from the

inpatient child and adolescent psychiatry and they stayed after the termination of the

Measure in contact. Sonboly stated here that he was with Breivik and Amok

deals. However, in these places with larger monologues Ahmed turned off in each case.

A relevant section of this mention of Breivik took place at the turn of the year 2015/16. He

noted that tempering sounds had no effect on Sonboly. Knew about the plot

he knew nothing, of the hate thoughts. This is also because he was one of those

those in the inpatient accommodation of negative and threatening utterances of the

Sonboly knew this but did not take it seriously.

21 The entire text is over 1,500 pages long and can be found in various places on the Internet.
22 Bannberg, FS for Wolter, 2013, p 1205 ff.

Chat with Riaz

In chatting with the same age Lebanese Riaz, both are hateful and pejorative

about Turks. The adolescent was not involved in the plot planning.

10. Ego shooter

Sonboly was very early in a very time-consuming way enthusiastic first person shooter player. He

As a loner without large social contacts spent a lot of time in front of the computer.
In addition to his obscure activities to create numerous false identities and among them
communicate, activities in social networks and referrals with factual content
he played first-person shooter. He put his first Steam account back in 2007 (aged
of nine years). The police investigation allowed the tremendous time he was facing
spent everything with first person shooter games, in some cases even prove. So he played that alone
Game Counter Strike [23] in the online version almost 5,000 hours.

Added to this is playing the CD-ROM variants of this game, but also playing
Other ego shooters, such as the saved versions, online game evidence or the
Statements of some players prove. Here are some specific preferences and
also differences to the other same-age fellow players.

Grand Theft Auto is a computer game series that first appeared in 1997 [24] and 2013 in the
Series GTA V in a critical review [25] referred to as "fantasy country for intensive offenders"
torture could be practiced as a cruel end in itself. The name
comes from the American offense "heavy vehicle theft". The
Acts in the five episodes of the series deal with a male protagonist
criminal history that aims at a criminal career in a big city. The
Details consist of criminal and violent acts as well as pejorative
Generalizations of ethnic groups. The solutions of the missions are obtained by the player
with the help of weapons and vehicles used for violent actions. It
There are several side missions that the player can additionally fulfill and thereby

[23] On the content of Counter Strike www.spieletipps.de/game/counter-strike and BPjS-Aktuell from 2002
as well as the game description in Wikipedia.
[24] For the game description see Wikipedia.
[25] David Hugendick, Time Online from 26.9.2013.

Rewards achieved. One of these side missions is the execution of rampages
(Rampage). "The player must then within a predetermined time with a specified

Weapon killing a certain number of rival gang members. " [26] Another
Adventure "is the opportunity to start the fight with the police to last as long as possible
to survive. In the game versions of GTA, there are some elements that are in the deeds of the
Act of 22.7.2016 find. There is a badger scene (as in Matrix). Increase at GTA
criminal acts the wanted level, in turn, by the player by wrapping
or reaching a hiding place can be reduced. Looking at the acting of the
Offenders Sonboly in the act, one understands the roof scene rationally just as little as the
useless t-shirt change. The templates can be found in games like this (and Matrix),
practiced for years and without any rational sense.

The first-person shooter Manhunt (and its next version Manhunt2) [27] is an indexed, so an in
Germany prohibited under § 131 StGB, which does not prevent young people from
to gain and play this. It was one of Sonbolys favorite games.

Manhunt is a main character, the male convicted criminal James Earl
Cash, which threatens the execution. A director impresses the judiciary and reaches the
Release of Cash, who is then to act for the director in snuff films. He
has the pointless task of killing people in front of the camera in the most brutal way possible.
Striking is a circumstance that Sonboly may have noticed: On
Wikipedia is advised to the game Manhunt that a mother in
Britain's game for influencing the 17-year-old offender, her 14-year-old
Son has blamed.

Manhunt2 (also indicated) is about the "Dixmoor-sanatorium for criminal
Mentally ill "in 2012, which after a thunderstorm a power failure with opening the
Security locks has recorded. Here begins a crude story in which the
disoriented and suffering from amnesia Daniel does not know who he is. Together with the
Inmates Leo escapes Daniel. Both reach the then house Daniels, which is now a
Ruin is. With medicines, Daniel remembers gradually, a "top scientist"
to be a secret project with the task of developing a military program for
Brainwashing and mind control to make the perfect assassin

[26] See the game description in Wikipedia.
[27] Details on the game and other aspects are presented in Wikipedia.

create. By means of a brain implant, the assassin personality with all
Combative skills can now be implanted in any human. It puts
It turns out that Daniel tested this implant on himself years ago. It went wrong
and Daniel could now with the implanted assassin personality (Leo) in itself
communicate. Leo's personality was dominant and launched a killing spree through the
City. You can play the game as a "good" person (Daniel) or "bad" person (Leo) and
practices rampages.

Interesting here is that Manhunt2 for Sonboly not only made the amok idea attractive and
but that there were similarities with his other preferences, which in the
showed further behavior even in the real world. Manhunt2 has similarities with the
Plot of matrix on. That one competes as a Chosen against many others is
The subject of most first person shooters. But here comes the explicit practice of the
Rampage add the game idea that a person competes with an imaginary second
lies. This virtual personality split has for Amoktäter like Sonboly in the
Development phase, however, has its own relevance. He sensed that the idea of an act
existed (the "evil" Sonboly) and the real life (school, exams exist,
grow up - the development of the "good" David Ali Sonboly) into one
Competition occurred. These games were sort of a template for his own life, too
if he could quite separate virtual and real world. This will be in his Bastian chat
Pattern very clearly. He is Bastian and David at the same time, but gives one
Dialogue between two different people. He reinforces himself with his
Determination and justification of the act.

The game "Hatred" was released in 2015 and in Germany in 2016 because of
inhumane acts of violence prohibited. [28] The game is about one
A gunman who nicks down as many people as possible without thinking; the celebration of the
Violence is the sole purpose, which led to numerous critical evaluations (Amok Simulator
etc.).

In several contexts Sonboly stated that he wanted to be called "AmokläuferZ"

(in in-patient psychiatric hospital). He called himself in his numerous Player names and nicknames AmokläuferZ or SonGukuZ and similar. Also used several passwords with the suffix "z" or "Z" and variants of amok as well as

[28] On the contents of the game and the other aspects Wikipedia.

Goku. The origin comes from the game Dragon Ball Z, a Japanese anime series. It is about the defense of overpowering attackers, who strive for supremacy or want to take revenge. This sets itself the group of the "Z-warriors" around Son Goku opposite. [29] Again, there are in the comments of the games a decent reference to Amoctate in Erfurt (April 26, 2002).

So the irrational games had in their entirety - along with the intense ones Referral to Amoktätern - a relevance for the development of his disturbed Personality, which ultimately resulted in the simpler variant (Amoktat) for him. Ultimately is the negative destructive act - the act with subsequent suicide - easier than (like Sonboly called it) the "struggle with the people" and the life. Growing up with all the demands that society places in a variety of situations is the tedious variant in which, from a subjective point of view, many injuries and efforts threatening. A "success" is also a long way off. Sonboly did not want to expose that. He chose the quick "success".

To mention is still the behavior of the other players. Partly Sonboly played computer games together with other male peers. They knew him from school. there It became clear that Sonboly preferred special games and not much interest for others showed (eg Minecraft, League of Legends). Sonboly fell off negatively because he often made inappropriate remarks or "you felt your hatred" as a teenager put it. One of the young people (Jan [30] who had created his own server) Sonboly blocked more often because he provoked or stabbed, as fellow players reported. Ua Sonboly said:

"They belong gassed"

"I kill them all" (which he said very often)

"You will all already see"

A peer had even phoned Sonbolys father and asked him to Ali should
Searching for help.

[29] About the contents of the games series Wikipedia.
[30] It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

Tom [31] said about Sonboly: "Normally he was calm, but he was always playing TS
aggressive. "Roman [32] confirmed that because of Ali's comments in TS were considered, the
To tell father or even go to the police: "In retrospect, you think,
how stupid we actually were. "Ali said things that were very violent. You could have
wondering if he had not considered how that works. He would have an ideal picture of himself
that did not agree with reality. So he would have been a good student
want what he was not. He would have wanted attention. He is not in real life
had been aggressive, but in the TS he had been very different, because he turned it on properly. The
His peers also registered the inappropriate amoan interests of Sonbolys. novel
Recognizing this, Sonboly wrote on Steam that he was the reincarnation of Tim
Kretschmer and he called himself AmokhunterZ or AmokläuferZ.

Jan was very attentive and also recognized the disturbed side of Ali's personality
quite well: He took the early signs, the amok interest, the interest in perpetrators and
Breivik, the topic of amok and threats true, he knew about Ali's Turks hatred and the role
the Esmas distance for Ali played: "Because nothing came of it" (with Esma and Ali), "became
his hatred just got bigger, "Jan said. He knew about the repulsive images that Ali put in
Group sent to the hateful statements, even from numerous fake accounts.

At the time, Jan did not take it all seriously, even though he once had the father of Sonboly contacted. When the shots fell, Jan, who lived in the immediate vicinity, knew but immediately, who is the culprit and said to his mother, that would be Ali. As the mother of this As absurdly questioned, Jan stated that he had been threatened by Ali for some time (and one another of his peers as well). But today (22.7.16) he is between 13 and 14 Clock in the TS has been threatened; Ali would have said, "I'll shoot you all down!" About a fake Account he received an invitation. At the interrogation, Jan sensed that Ali was the Gun had worried in the Darknet and that Bastian and Ali were a person.

11. Amok fan groups and connoisseurs

The amok fan scene is a special group of sympathizers who are primarily frolic on the online games platform Steam. There are also individual homepages or Comments of especially active fans under youtube videos and you can be sure that

[31] It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.
[32] It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

after each similar publicity act comments from specific persons written in this particular scene. That's how it was here. Sonboly was on Steam active and came with "groups" (such as "Tim Kretschmer Memorial", "AmokZ") in Contact, admiring the gunman and dealing with deeds, names and accordingly Details very well know. Typical of a sympathizer scene plans here only one Fraction of the interested ones themselves an act, the others are verbal and propagandistic as well as downplaying and justifying act. In these groups, the attitude outweighs Amok runners are justified bullying victims and victims of society, their otherness you do not accept. The reality does not matter. The problematic of these scenes is that they encourage and cheer up those who are inclined to act. They also supply material and Details about other amoctates.

The group names and profile names of the players speak for themselves: Columbine Mafia, trench coat Mafia, Jeff way [33], References to Eric (Harris) = Reb and Dylan (Klebold) = VoDKa, "Free Anders Breivik", "2083", "Hitman for Hire" [34] uva

There are indications of strange websites, where half-informed (fans) the Pay homage to former perpetrators: Tim Kretschmer Memorial (with illustrative material on more Acts and perpetrators), pages on which the diary of Bastian Bosse in excerpts can be downloaded (with the name of the offender wrongly referred to as Sebastian will), again and again Columbine and combinations of perpetrators and acts.

Through these contacts, there was an exchange, inter alia, with "diabolic psychopath", with Sonboly was in contact and fortunately discovered before the own offense could.

12. Identification

The perpetrator dealt in detail (especially in 2015 and 2016) with Amoktaten and Amoktätern. Here were typical acts with high identification effect on others Amoktäter recognizable, but also subjective preferences.

[33] Amoktäter 2005.
[34] Reference to Columbine.

In the book by Langman: "Amok in the head" some pages were marked in yellow. He should be here have not read the whole book from beginning to end, but it is to be assumed that he was particularly interested in certain things. Langman treats both to the yellow marked pages as detailed later the act and perpetrators of Columbine. This act

Sonboly was very interested. But he also wondered about the context of
Amok thoughts / Amoktaten and mental disorders, as well as in others
Connections shows, if he is a chat partner with statements about himself, he is not
normal, confronted. Almost all other Amoktäter had / have this sense of foreignness,
the feeling of being weird to be different is also more frequently discussed. They researched
possible disorders (manic-depressive, psychopath, narcissistic) and had leaflets
of child and adolescent psychiatry. Partially they were in psychiatric or
psychotherapeutic treatment. This is marked at Langman on the
Mentioned pages.

Steam and the fan scene

This scene (already above 11th) and in particular the exchange with other activists
like "diabolicpsychopath" had a strengthening and intensifying effect on Sonboly.

Sonboly dealt in more detail with the following gunmen.

Tim Kretschmer, act on 11.3.2009 in Winnenden and Wendlingen

The perpetrator killed 15 people. The first crime scene was the one formerly visited by the offender
Albertville secondary school. Here was the first act of the act. The culprit attacked
Students (primary) in two selected classrooms, but also students and
Teachers. He shot at the janitor and the incoming police officers. To
escaping from the building he shot a gardener of adjoining psychiatry, took
a motorist hostage and ordered him, in the direction of Stuttgart or the motorway ramp
Munich to drive. The hostage steered the car at the driveway into a ditch. Here was
The industrial area Wendlingen, where there are more dead and injured and one
Gunfire with the police came. The perpetrator killed himself about three hours after the beginning of the

Act with a headshot. In the end, 15 people were dead and many more injured. Of the Offender used a Beretta.

Sonboly has identified with Kretschmer in a significant way. He dealt in the Internet with the deed and the culprit and visited one of the weird fan sites that turned out to be Spend Memorial. Sonboly called himself rebirth of Kretschmer and used the name of the offender Tim Kretschmer in different spelling as nickname and Password and nickname of Kretschmer (JawsPredator). He traveled twice Winnenden, to the then crime scene of the Amoktat from 11 March 2009 (school) in more detail to watch. He visited the cemetery and the grave of some victims and took pictures. He was also on the anniversary of the act on 11.3.2016 in Winnenden at the memorial service. On The fan page contains pictures of Kretschmer, including fake pictures. One finds also references to other gunmen there (stone houses; way; Cho; Columbine - Harris and Klebold).

Robert Steinhäuser, act on April 26, 2002 in Erfurt

Robert Steinhäuser was fascinated by Columbine and killed in Gutenberggymnasium 16 People. He primarily attacked teachers, but also killed the secretary, a student and a student and a police officer. In the end he shot himself. He used a Glock.

Columbine High School, 20.4.1999; Offenders Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold

For a description of the facts, see Bannenberg [35], The original acts are indeed were put on the Internet early in the day by the Jefferson County Police (then 11,000 Sheet files, later 30,000 sheets). These files contain over 1,000 pages in the original Inscriptions, drawings and other personal testimonies of the perpetrators (Columbine Documents). Very problematic was that this act received enormous media attention and a 45-Minute original record of the facts in the area of the cafeteria of the school in

[35] Bannenberg: School-Shootings: Is the Escalation Dynamics of Targeted Violence Mandatory? Boy and

Internet arrived, showing both offenders in action. This cafeteria video is still in today numerous fan videos demonstration material for those who are inclined to act. Also were movie-like Documentaries about the act filmed. It is the amoctat, the act, the sad Celebrity gained and until today of great importance for the identification of those with an inclination is.

Bastian Bosse, Emsdetten, 20.11.2006

The act of 18-year-old Bastian Bosse at the comprehensive school in Emsdetten on 26 November 2006 was planned as a "massacre" with many deaths. Bosses injured the janitor in the end, Students and teachers with shots, signal color and then lighted homemade Smoke bombs in the school building, where a smoke extraction was initially not possible. As a result, numerous other people, including the police officers, the exposed to biting smoke. No one was killed. The boss's act is therefore for others Offender relevant because videos and his "diary" (justifications of the deed) as well as positive Comments on Columbine are still available on the Internet. His pronounced Thematizations of the allegedly justified act at Columbine High School and his Admiration for Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold have the consequence of being self-effacing Explain in detail persons with both acts and the hate and killing fantasies take. To date, there exists a fan scene that is more or less familiar with Bastian Bosses and his thoughts. The wrong name "Sebastian" indicates that fans without personal knowledge the "diary records" constantly spread. Short before the act began, Bosse had operated a homepage with violent rights and sent his "diary" to acquaintances who posted these records on the Internet have made. Bosse was also a Matrix fan and gave himself - like Sonboly - partly himself

the name Neo. At the same time, he was upset about what he called "neo" by others has been. This narcissistic attitude (to be individually great and above all to raise others) was also elsewhere. He said in different situations: "I am God" and took over a saying from Eric Harris. To this he said, he be the advancement of Eric. The generalized inhuman utterances Eric Harris took over bosses in full.

The act of the boss does not have because of the victim number, but because of the virtual Self-representation meaning until today.

Anders Behring Breivik, Oslo and Utoya July 22, 2011

Sonboly had several pictures and videos of Breivik, talking about him in chats Peers and had a Facebook profile picture of Breivik, what others Teenagers found very strange. The choice of a profile picture is typically one Signs of identification with the person depicted, but this is not the case Police intervention led.

He certainly chose the date of the act, it was the fifth anniversary of the Attacks in Oslo and Utoya (July 22, 2011). Also the cocky designation of his two-sided hate messages to posterity with "manifesto" indicates a takeover of Breivik thought. Breivik left a pamphlet of hatred and justification his actions amounting to more than 1,500 pages ("2083").

Jeffrey Weise, Red Lake, Minnesota, 21.03.2005

The gunman is mentioned on the Tim Kretschmer memorial page and pictures of him can be seen in special killer fan videos. In addition, Langman points in his book "Amok in the head" way out on one of the yellow marked pages. So must this offender may have come into the focus of Sonboly. Also, Jeffrey Weise showed interest Hitler and the Nazi regime. [36]

Andreas Lubitz, German Wings

The shot of an image by Andreas Lubitz, who has an amoktat by means of a hijacked Plane committed as he closed the doors of the cabin as a pilot and an intervention other prevented, is interesting. Partial sounded in Sonboly a certain affinity for Flying, although this theme played no major role in his life (alleged

[36] On the page "murderpedia" there is a comprehensive description of the perpetrator.

Hobby model flight, picture Day of Flight, remarks to Esma in a chat). It may be more likely to deal with the act of Lubitz, which by no means an "extended suicide" was, so a prominent suicide in which the suicide takes other people to death. The psychologically conspicuous Lubitz was on medical grounds shortly before the refusal of the flight license and wanted to Airline (employer) and society revenge. Perpetrators always know who are unparalleled.

Virginia Tech, perpetrator Seoung-Hui CHO, act on April 16, 2007

Sonboly had a picture of Cho. The 23-year-old Seoung-Hui CHO committed on April 16, 2007 a devastating rampage on Virginia Tech. He shot 32 people and

then yourself with a shot in the head. The native South Korean came in
Age of eight years with his parents in the US and was considered psychologically highly noticeable
described. He could not bear being physically touched by anyone,
was extremely reserved and full of social fears. It was partly due to depression
out. However, Cho had a hidden fascination for amoctates and especially the act
developed at Columbine High School on April 20, 1999. His hate thoughts were
pronounced and were used against students and faculty in behavior, copywriting and emails
clear. On the Internet, the crime is still present today, because the crime has many victims
had and pictures of Cho in martial hateful pose with weapon and military
Outfit are available. [37]

Numerous usernames and passwords Sonbolys speak volumes: God equals16,
Glockrage16, 9mmhunter, hunter17, timkretschmer, Vodka (nickname of Dylan Klebold,
Columbine and many more)

[37] An investigation report on the crime is available on the Internet: Virginia Tech Review Panel: Mass Shootings
at Virginia Tech, April 16, 2007. Report of the Review Panel, August 2007. Addendum Nov. 2009.

acts of terrorism

He also searched the Internet for information about other recent acts, both
Terrorism around Paris (attacks of 13.11.2015, St. Denis), to Nice, Orlando, the
Stop in Würzburg on 18.7.2016 as well as other Amoktaten like Viernheim. He
was interested in relevant topics (shooting, 9 mm, suicide, hopelessness,

Depression, SEK, Glock, weapons, searched for effects of ammunition, brainstem and head shot and scouted the crime scenes: Saturn, OEZ, Boomerang, streets).

The referral to other Amoctatians in this intensity was with other Amoctatians also exists and plays an important role in identification and preparation to your own deed. If one considers the development to be an amoceptor as a long-lasting one Radicalization, which from first thoughts of amok about evolving hatred and Killing fantasies becomes more and more directed and specific, so is the crucial phase that of identification. At this stage, the later offender begins to imagine that he has many similarities with perpetrators, that he shares their experiences and feelings and just as these perpetrators belong to a supposedly elite minority, not those with others has a lot in common. The justifications of the deed are driven forward (one might say humiliated, despised, laughed at, and bullied by others, no one accepted that how one is, others fall in the lap). It begin the devaluations of others and Hate and violent fantasies towards particular groups as well as the general public. at The referral to other perpetrators shows great similarities and the result of the Years of attention or even supposed "immortality" on the Internet. The The method of referral is also relevant. The pictures of the perpetrators become the Anticipation of one's own meaning and "importance". Music and videos of always the same design that the perpetrators have consumed since Columbine, unfold a tremendous Effectiveness also in everyday situations, in which the music and images through the Shoot head. The role model search is on the one hand youth typical, the topic however Not. Young people identify with numerous media figures and "celebrities", But most of these adolescent extremes can become phases of their adult life split off. The Amoktäter however identify themselves with the destructive idea Amok due her personality disorder in a dangerous way. Will not this dynamics through Outsiders (police, justice, psychiatry) are radically interrupted, the act is committed. Out These fragments of identification are also explained by numerous other abnormalities such as

such as the choice of player names, nicknames and passwords, the profile pictures in Facebook and elsewhere, as well as the obsession with death and amok, the others certainly noticeable.

13. Attention, envy and hate

The violent emotional reactions to Tugce Albayrak are very strange, but show two. He greatly envyed her media attention (that is an expression of narcissistic disorder). That Tugce A. was a victim and not a perpetrator did not bother him, because he hated Turkish (Turkish) girls and took this case as an opportunity to themselves always negative about them. This behavior is irrational and only as an expression to understand the mentally disturbed personality Sonbolys.

A peer (novel) reported that Ali was extremely angry at Tugce and got her insulted and insulted ("none of us could understand that"). He said Ali did not like Turks. He liked to provoke, that was sometimes exaggerated (and Almost always Ali was the reason for the trouble).

14. Right-wing Statements

At Sonboly occasionally the drawn swastikas fell on. Especially in the stationary Housing this was negative to some people. His xenophobic statements were known to a number of people, which more often led to anger when he in the classroom, chats or TS versus peers massive insults and Hate messages. In his stored voice messages and some themselves written texts (which others did not know before the act) he became very expressive dramatically.

In psychiatry was also known therapists that he xenophobic Views with fierce verbiage advocated.

He also made hate - filled statements about Turks, Muslims and Foreigner not back.

The right-wing statements or writings and drawings of
Swastikas also have relevance and importance in other Amoktätern.
In particular, the following Amoktäter that Sonboly had dealt with, also showed here
Anomalies (Columbine, Eric Harris, Jeffrey Weise, perpetrators, in turn, strong on Harris
and Columbine, such as Auvinen 2007 ("Sturmgeist 89"), Bastian Bosse). Other
German Amoktäter had also shown such interests (Martin P., 1.11.1999, Bad
Reichenhall; Adam L., 19.2.2002 Eching and Freising). Even the offender from Brannenburg
had a certain closeness because an acquaintance with whom he spent time in the neo-Nazi
Scene was active and both in the forest practiced Gotcha games and went into hate speech.
The importance of Hitler's fascination is best taken from the texts of Eric Harris.
It was never about these loners having considered, a right-wing group
to join. The meaning lies in the shared contempt of other people and in the
Finding maximum attention with the act. That's why Hitler is the greatest for her
Killer of all times. And a narcissist compares only with the greatest.

Sonboly visited no right-wing extremist sides, did not wrong with right-wing
Persons and was certainly not supporters of the far-right scene. In his possession found
the 2010 published youth trivia novel "Der Neonazi" by Damaris Kofmehl. This
book full of physical violence and flattest dialogues was for Sonboly
without relevance. The events described here were not his world.

15. Violent and killing fantasies and expressions of meaning

The phrases were numerous. Both towards peers in school and
Chats, at the online computer games in TS and via statements in social networks
Many people were aware of the hatred Sonbolys, from his extreme
xenophobic tirades in which again and again execute and extinguish the

Speech was. On the Steam side, his announcements were very intense. Here you have it
but typically dealing with users who rarely inform the police. The one too
Amoktat planning teens came only by a criminal complaint after Sonbolys act
Visor of the police. The two-page text "Mein Kampf mit den Menschen" has Sonboly
sent to some teenagers. In psychotherapy and in inpatient accommodation
In psychiatry, the announcements to kill everyone fell on. He held this

not at all hidden. However, these comments were not taken seriously. He demanded that
other teenagers to call him "gunman". Especially in the last phase, when four
Concretely, teenagers were worried and anxious about critical demand
Clarification needed. Sonboly threatened some people more often, he would all
kill and included the appropriate person. This was also called a threat
felt. On the other hand - as with the other Amoktaten too - one took the
Announcements are not serious because Sonboly ultimately did not trust the act.

16. Firearm and Darknet

The lone gunman Sonboly had illegally obtained his firearm in Darknet, a Glock 17
including 300 rounds of ammo. Access to the firearm over the Darknet was untypical.
The choice of weapon and the amount of ammunition on the other hand is typical, but access
Not. So far, young offenders mostly resorted to firearms ownership in the household and
did not actively try to get hold of a firearm. The Darknet but corresponds to the
Personality; you do not have to go into direct contact with gun sellers to
to get at a firearm but plans everything anonymously over the net. Only the
Handover of the weapon after the agreement took place here in the real world. With the first
Media reports became clear that in the Munich Act, the procurement of
Firearm was done over the darknet. The problem with this circumstance is that one

Abundance of subsequent amok threats of young and adult persons not only these Possibility of access to a firearm, but that the police actually

the corresponding software finds on the computers.

17. Concrete Tatplanung and Tatausführung

With the fake account "Selina Akim", which was meticulously and painstakingly created and numerous "friends" who were mostly inventions of Sonbolys (but

not only), should be a variety of people whom the offender personally knew and rejected

or only symbolically belonged to its target group of young migrants, to two

potential crime scenes: McDonald's and the restaurant Boomerang, the

both popular and typical meeting places of the Munich youth from the district and above

were out. It is also to be assumed that the perpetrator was clear that not all kill

can. Some people from the target group should therefore also viewers from the perspective of the Täter's grandiose killing incident. With some concrete persons the is

Trying to order her to the crime scene, unclear: Had with the former fellow patient Ahmed

Sonboly met right before the deed and spent almost an hour. When he gave him the

Show contents of his backpack, both were disturbed and it did not come to it. In

With respect to Ahmed, it is to be assumed that it was a kind of farewell conversation, not the

Should result in the death of the adolescent. He probably wanted to show Ahmed what he wanted

was capable. The same could be said for Jan and Erol [38] apply, however, there was here from view

the perpetrator quite an - irrational - hate motivation, since he repeatedly the critical

and also saw distant expressions and behaviors of the two exposed

(Lock in the computer games because of the unbearable hate speech of Sonboly).

Like other Amoktäter, Sonboly had a preferred enemy group: he hated

young migrants of a specific ethnic group. Other Amoktäter wanted primarily teachers

and teachers or girls, sometimes they wanted to be in theirs

(former) school and thus there were typical similarities in the choice of victims.
Subjectively, the victim group that first attacked had a special significance for the perpetrators.
Here either individual persons found themselves, who die necessarily from view of the perpetrators
should or it has been a special group (teachers or one or more specific
School classes, the school, peers from the school) attacks. With the victims there was
no conflict relationship, but from the point of view of the offender's motivation, this group
symbolically extinguish or punish. Everybody was regularly after the first attacks
Person who coincidentally met with the offender, acutely endangered. Especially if the
Offenders had firearms, the damage potential was particularly large.

His victims were alien to him, at best he had it symbolically - the first attack - on
young migrants and some of the former bullies in general.

Sonboly did not have a closed ideological world view. He had no - only -
right-wing extremist xenophobic world view, but had long one
generalized hatred developed on everyone. He especially hated some foreigner groups,
but in the end he rejected most of the people and in his act he clearly stated that
Expression. He shot in the middle-aged German as well as the 14-year-old
Migrants and the mother of several children. He hated everyone else and saw himself as a victim, that

[38] It is a pseudonym to protect the personality.

is justified to kill. The whole motivation and justification of the killing was crude,
inhumane and based on a narcissistic disturbed personality development
a young person who can not cope with life. His years of time-consuming
So diving into virtual worlds and computer games has its sense of reality
twisted, as there are in the games the recurring order to kill. To yourself
not having to face the reality that would have made him realize that he was not
school perspective, no supporting social contacts equal to which gender
can not enter into a relationship with a girl, he turned

in a sense, the spear. Instead of recognizing his deficits and striving to be
To change behavior (which only shows through in small moments in rare moments),
He hated all the others, blaming him for his misfortune (they have me)
bullied; You brought death into the land; I hate Muslims; You have me to that
made that I am; I was in psychiatric treatment, it had to come like this ...). The
is typical of the narcissistic disturbed personality.

In the radicalization up to the fact planning the young loners usually go through
Phases in which they spend months, some years, with other perpetrators, especially
Occupy and imagine people who commit an act themselves. It is also typical
that self-testimonies are made in order to exaggerate their own meaning. All perpetrators
the core group were like the Munich perpetrator also psychopathologically conspicuous; This is
in a sense the key to understanding these rare acts. Young Amoktäter
they perceive their environment as hostile, they feel constantly offended and attacked and
not enough attention. In that regard, the bullying theme is also typical. However explained
not bullying the deed. Even the Munich perpetrator took no revenge on tormentors, but
had long ago developed a hatred of society ("revenge on all"). In the project
Target investigated perpetrators, there were very few perpetrators, the years before the fact bullying or
Violence experiences in the school had to do. As a rule, there was no bullying.
The personality, however, is of great vulnerability and sees everyday experiences (eg
a teacher's question about homework) as an incredibly humiliating imposition.
These feelings do not become impulsive, aggressive or even constructively factual
answered. The later offender eats all the injuries that he perceives subjectively
into and accumulate these feelings. Out of anger, hatred and contempt arise of all
others, until there is no way out and a grand destructive act is the solution

seems to be. The psychic premonition, the suicidal and ultimately the suicide after the

Act are typical.

The chaos and the enormous media coverage after the crime with many dead are Characteristic of Amoktaten and play an important role in the fantasies of the perpetrators. They want attention, enjoy their role when heavily armed police forces move out and get people in fear and panic. In videos, the activists previously Consume intensively, these elements are always to be found and a perpetrator confirmed in one Interview: "Because of me, not only the police, but the SEK came." And to the panic Victims and survivors: "These are the trophies". Since 2016, the problem is intensifying the escalating media coverage with follow-on data and a variety of threats by the real possibility of terrorist attacks, as last but not least in the attack in Berlin from December 2016 shows.

Rational is incomprehensible to outsiders, as an offender is the enormous Media attention, although he is not even by his suicide much more of it. But that does not exclude itself, because the perpetrators study - like Sonboly - for years other deeds and their representation on the Internet. You know, that at least one thing has succeeded in her life: on the Internet with a terrible act to become immortal and to inspire others.

V. Early Detection, Threat Management and prevention options

After intensive media coverage of Amoktaten and assassinations will be two different groups encouraged to pronounce threats: the large group of harmless "freeloaders", who make threatening threats and caused them To enjoy your attention anonymously or openly. The much smaller group of people inclined to action already has killing fantasies and is going through the reporting for further planning stimulated. Here is a threat or announcement of action rather indirect, restrained and ambiguous. The narcissistic offender wavers between announcing his own magnificent Act and restraint so as not to attract attention too soon. The announcements are with Identification with Amoktätern and a fascination of the possibility of their own Explain the execution of the offense. This perpetrator does not want to threaten, he wants to carry out the act. In the Usually Amoktäter plan long and enjoy their fantasies for many months.

As early as 2002, empirical studies were carried out as a result of the American Amoctates carried out and made recommendations, both in English and German were published as well as in almost all German crisis plans of the federal states have flowed. [39] The "Safe School Initiative" at that time featured 10 key features that were added to the Clarification of an amokgefahr particular in schools and municipalities consideration should find. These features are still partially true today. Some need according to the results of the investigation of German cases in the project TARGET but be revised. [40] At that time it was mainly assumed that there is no perpetrator profile, which so unstable. There is a special perpetrator profile. It was further assumed that Perpetrators in the run-up have significant loss experiences, which is also not so to hold. Important elements have already been recognized by the Safe School Initiative and are still valid: Amoctates are not impulsive, unplanned acts. The perpetrators cancel

[39] Vossekuil et al., 2002; The contingency plans are usually issued by the Ministries of Education of the Länder or by Ministries of the Interior and Culture were written together and distributed to the schools. The education is planned so-called crisis teams at schools, which are to clarify a danger after amokdrohungen or warning behavior are responsible.

[40] In the project have been studied empirically in addition to the Amoktaten well over 140 cases with Amokdrohungen. A Group of dangerous offenders identified with specific criteria, see Final Report 2017.
Also Bannenberg, ZIS 5/2011, 300 ff.

their deeds in advance and that usually with indirect hints, less with direct Threats. In advance, there are more warning signals such as intensive dealing with deeds and Weapons, the perpetrators often feel like bullying victims, many express suicidal intentions. [41]

The so-called threat management starts only when threats or worrying Utterances become known. It is *not* a kind of checklist after which Students are checked.

Specific risk factors can be named and are as follows:

Risk factors Dangerous young Amoktäter

- ► Typical: Male, up to 23 years, more often German without migration background, social inconspicuous, rather attended high schools and secondary schools, but rather School failure, poor performance
- ► Social withdrawal and contact difficulties (with perpetrator duo is one dominant)
- ► Psychopathologically conspicuous (narcissistic, paranoid elements, ailing, feels not recognized, suicidal thoughts in addition to killing intentions; Minority psychopathic, sadistic)
- ► Resentment, anger, hatred and killing fantasies (rather with staged multiple killing: "all should die ")
- ► Not impulsive, not criminally conspicuous, no open aggression and violence
- ► Spends a lot of time on the internet and often with ego-shooters

Often weapons fascination; fascinated by death and by Amoktätern / assassins

- ► Identification with Amoktätern over Internet (high meaning of the act at the Columbine High School on April 20, 1999 [42])

- ► Wish to use firearms (firearm availability is great
  Risk factor for implementation of the Tatpläne)
- ► Indication of the Tatpläne on the Internet or in the social environment (less direct
  Threat, if indirect); long planning (months to years)
- ► Act date may be coincidental or based on trigger / relevant date

These criteria may be used to clarify the risk of committing an amoct
Psychiatry and schools are used. It is important that, especially in schools, for the

[41] Vossekuil et al., 2002, p 31 ff.
[42] The act at Columbine High School in 1999 still serves as a strong means of identification, see
Bannenberg, in Greuel / Petermann / Boetticher (ed.) 2015, p. 155 ff.

wider context but also in society generally sensitivity and attention
to make such statements and inform the police. Remain single offenders
otherwise "under the radar".

For the understanding of the prevention possibilities of an amoctat (or also a
terrorist attack by a single perpetrator), it is important to radicalization as
To introduce process. For terrorist individual offenders a model has been described [43] that on
Amoktäter is transferable: At the beginning there is a personal resentment, anger and anger
any circumstances. The Internet is looking for an outlet, but also for like-minded people
searched. In the perpetrators (whether Amoktäter or terrorist) finds a de facto the possibility
the identification. Here, depending on personal preferences, especially avenger figures with
chosen corresponding generalized violence. Only then does the
Phase of action planning. Whether and when the crime is committed is often coincidence. But it does play
"Trigger", such as the media coverage of another act or as here
Anniversary of another act, a role. A willingness to act does not arise from today
tomorrow. The perpetrators think about an act for a long time and it usually takes months until

concrete action plans begin. In these phases, statements about planned
Intentions, not because the perpetrators want to threaten, but because of the subject so
are obsessed with the utterances and intentions "slipping out" to some extent.

This also confirmed an offender in an interview: "I was so full of thoughts then
at Columbine and my act that I had to watch what I say when. I had two
Faces: One for the mother and the school and one, because I was already the culprit. "

[43] Hamm / Spaaj, 2015.

VI. Could the crime have been prevented in Munich?

The deed could possibly have been prevented if the numerous hints,
Announcements, killing fantasies and threats would have reached the police.
This would have all information about the potential upon announcement of the announcements
First and foremost, his cyber-activities and computers have to be collected
analyze the extent of the plans and preparations. If this

could not be judged after the fact. The procedure in the case of the acquaintance and potential offspring in Baden-Württemberg, however, is just as optimistic like many other clarifications in the context of risk assessments in Germany. In an interruption of the dynamics of the preparations of the act in the Usually not committed later.

So if you ask about the benefits of a time-consuming analysis of the crime and the perpetrator of the Indeed, the answer is clear: a correct classification of the planned or committed act in the underlying phenomenon offers opportunities of prevention through early detection. From the comparison of perpetrators and threatening persons can be deduced that perpetrators like threatening potential offenders in advance of Amoktaten as of acts of terrorism and leave warning signs. These mediated threats and announcements of the Tat intentions have a specific reason. On the one hand, the perpetrators want to make sure they are become immortal with their action, so a subjective message must be made. on the other hand They want to commit the act and not be discovered beforehand. In the months before an act However, they are barely able to think of something else, what that "Slipping out" of threats, hatred and phrases explained. In this behavior are similar to Amoktäter and terrorist individual offenders. However, it still needs the Attention in society, police, psychiatrists and especially schools to the To perceive and classify signals.

But you can also see very well that a "wrong track" has no preventive relevance. If one had at the Munich Amoktäter in the apron alone on swastikas and xenophobic hate messages reacts, one would have with the presumption of a right-wing extremist background rather a group involvement and accepted

Of course not found. The culprit was neither on right-wing extremist websites, nor active in relevant forums, certainly not he has sought contact with right-wing groups, if only because he never had a group act in mind. His personality was always

solitary and his plot accordingly directed to a single act. Alone
to turn to the right-wing extremist theme, but here would be clearly too briefly.
The identification figures of David Ali Sonboly were never with right-wing extremists, but
at Amoktätern. From terrorists (above all single persons) he settled in regard to the
Indeed *execution* inspired. A deeper meaning for the *identification* had only German
and American gunboats, not even Breivik.

He wanted to be immortal as the German gunman with at least 17 dead.

VII. The Munich Amoktat - neither hate crime nor right-wing terrorism

1. Hate Crime

The hate crime concept is based on the assumption that people out
group - related prejudices become victims and that this double objectification of a
Victim has particularly negative consequences. The victim does not just have to endure a violent act,
but is chosen as a victim because it belongs to a group on which the perpetrator or offenders
to aim symbolically. In general, Hate Crime is a group of acts. The culprit
or the perpetrators signal the victim group that further attacks for a property,
which is attached or attributed to the victim (ethnicity, religion, political attitudes)
was selected. So there is no conflict or personal relationship that the
Victim may possibly influence so as not to become a victim. The other problem is
the invitation character to other offenders inherent in such an act. The
Hostility should not only be directed against the concrete victim, but at the same time one
signal to the whole group that they will also be future because of an abstract property
to become a victim. Hate crimes can therefore be used primarily as a message crime
understand.[44]

Violent acts of ideological, eg right-wing extremist motivation are all
Definition elements typically met. Amoctates all have a certain amount of hate crime
Component, but do not quite fulfill the theoretical concept. Amoktäter do not send all
the same hate messages in a directional way and can not be generalized. hate
is the only thing that unites them. More specifically, however, one hates girls and women
especially the other teachers and the third youth of his age.
In addition, Amoktäter generally reject society. Your act is more or less
staged and the open Amokkonzept the police PDV-100 (a amoklage is short
said before, if the culprit tries to kill as many people as possible in a short time)
is suitable to adapt the operational behavior of the situation from a police point of view. A

ideologically motivated act is currently not available.

[44] Bannenberg / Rössner / Coester, in Egg (ed.) 2006, p. 17 ff .; Coester 2008.

Amoktaten resides in a certain invitation character, but not in the sense of the typical victim and perpetrator groups, but on an individual level. An Amoktäter inspires another to plan his act and take over elements as well. The Motivation is different here. The psychopathological loner with narcissistic Size itself recognizes itself in the predecessor. A gunman always wants to be alone be great, certainly not next to another or even several others. Also is the Personality that of a loner and social outsider, himself constantly sees as a victim of society. That does not fit with group acts.

2. Right-wing terrorism

There is a difference between right-wing extremism and right-wing terrorism. As far as the typical Variation of group acts is meant, a Amoktäter is categorically different. There are definitely some right-wing extremist individual offenders, but these offenders are again different from the Amoktäter by their directed ideology and the specific victim choice.

For example, if you look at the Reker assassin (2015), the difference becomes Amoktäter clearly. This assassin had a specific enemy image. He was earlier Member of a right comradeship, which was over for many years. As alone living 45-year-old man with failed relationships he was over two years before the act unemployed and watched with suspicion the influx of refugees. Here his took right-wing extremist ideology. He made politicians for the decision, refugees "Uncontrolled" to flow to Germany, responsible and found his special Enemy in today's Mayor of Cologne. He wanted her with a long one

Kill Rambo Knife and assumed he could signal. He held her up
a campaign event in the city center with a massive stitch with the knife
down and assumed to have killed her. Now other people came from different
He also attacked them with the knife. This was not before
planned and was not accompanied at the moment of the execution of the act of homicide.
Third persons were not attacked at all. He was arrested by the police and called
aloud: "I have done it for you! I did it for Germany! You will be one to me
Be grateful for the day. "

The Breivik case is complex. You can not just go out with a right-wing extremist,
even if the hatred of Islam at Breivik was in the foreground. [45]

3. The Police Definition System Politically Motivated Crime (PMK)

The PMK definition system was introduced on 1.1.2001 and since 2002, 2004 and
2015/2016 modified. It wants the motivating motivation in the foreground
put. The meaning of this system seems on the one hand to the assignment of the
Responsible for police processing. Police is relevant
especially the distinction of state protection offenses and other offenses.
On the other hand, probably the information about the development of extremist motivated plays
Did a role, the problem of delineation in overlapping and new
occurring phenomena is seen.

Be different

- Politically motivated crime

- Politically motivated violent crime

- Terrorism

The definition of politically motivated crime is very wide. Crime is recorded
be in appreciation of the circumstances of the act and / or the hired person's attitude
Provide clues that they

- influence the democratic decision-making process, the achievement or
To serve political purposes or to oppose the realization of political goals
Judge decisions,

- to oppose the liberal democratic constitution ...

- by using force or preparatory acts directed towards it
Endanger the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany,

[45] See in detail the case analysis at Bannenberg, FS Wolter, 2013, p. 1205 - 1222 with others Evidence.

- against a person because of his / her attributed or actual political
Attitude, attitude and / or engagement, nationality, ethnicity,
Skin color, religious affiliation, worldview, social status, physical and / or
mental disability or impairment, sexual orientation and / or sexual
Identity or external appearance are directed and the offense thus in the
Causal context stands or in this context against an institution / thing
or an object.

In addition, the state protection offenses are recorded.

The terms politically motivated violent crime and terrorism are exploiting them
Subdivide and supplement them by the specific offenses.

Considering the deed of the Sonboly and the definitional features, this is not a question
State protection offense, still the first three variants (influencing political
Formation of the will, attack of the free democratic basic order, endangerment
foreign affairs). The very broad definition referring to victim-related group characteristics
could be to consider. As with the Hate Crime concept are Amoktätern
Parts of this abstract sacrificial selection more common, pronounced in Sonboly in the
Xenophobia. But what would be the inclusion of this amoctate in the system
won? One sees on closer inspection and analysis, that despite the
pronounced hate is the psychopathology of the individual offender in the foreground and not
his political message or agitation. This remains just unclear, because the hatred of
End meets all.

If the culprit had survived, this would be the big criminal court, but not the State Security Senate
been responsible. It would have been at the core of the question of the application of § 21 StGB,
namely, whether a personality disorder was present, how pronounced it was and whether one
from this a possibly diminished debt capacity (controllability) with the consequence
the placement in a psychiatric hospital (§ 63 StGB) could have derived.
Otherwise, it would be the conviction for multiple perfected and attempted
Murder gone, depending on the decision, whether juvenile justice or
Adult criminal law would have found application in penalties varied
would. Also, the (reserved) preventive detention may be too
have been decide.

Classifying rare acts such as Amoktaten as ideological does not do justice to the phenomenon
and does not show any benefit.

An early recognition of these acts is specifically in the field of the
Threat management and hazard forecasting, not with state protection.

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